LIFE OF JOHN LOCKN

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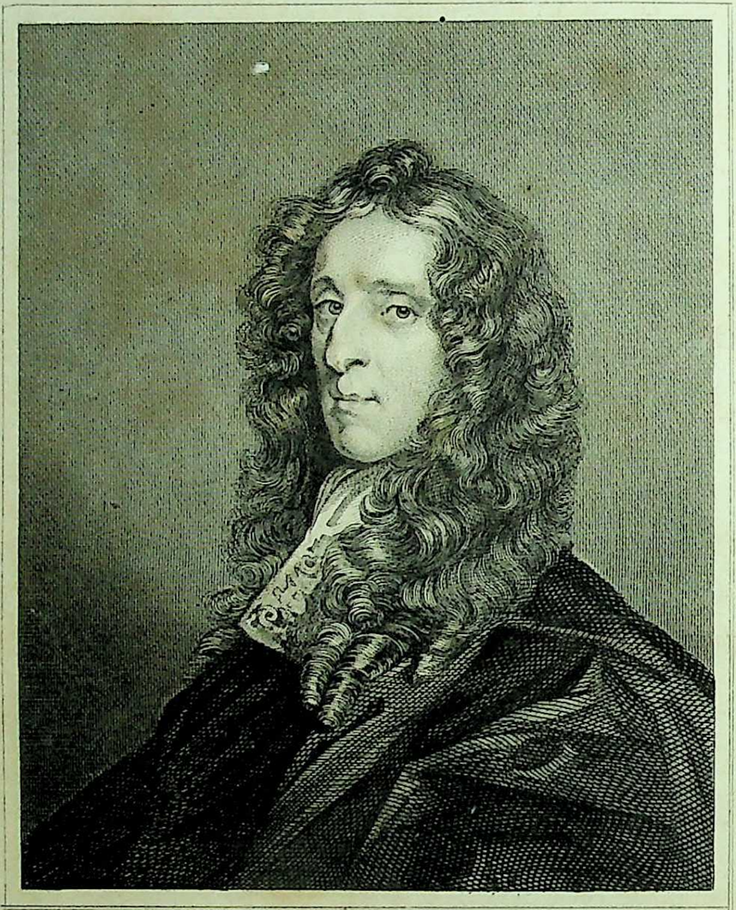

Greenhill, pinx.t Worthington sculp.t

John Locke

"Absolute Liberty, just & true Liberty,
equal & impartial Liberty."

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THE LIFE

OF

JOHN LOCKE,

WITH EXTRACTS FROM

HIS CORRESPONDENCE, JOURNALS,

AND

COMMON-PLACE BOOKS.

BY LORD KING.

LITERIS INNUTRITUS, EOUSQUE TANTUM PROFECI UT VERITATI UNICÈ LITAREM.

NEW EDITION.

WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

DIGITIZED

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PREFACE.

AFTER the death of Locke, his papers, correspondence, and manuscripts, came into the possession of Sir Peter King, his near relation and sole executor. They consist of the originals of many of his printed works, and of some which were never published; of his very extensive correspondence with his friends, both in England and abroad; of a journal which he kept during his travels in France and Holland; of his common-place books; and of many miscellaneous papers; all of which have been preserved in the same scrutoir in which they had been deposited by their author, and which was probably removed to this place in 1710.

The works of Locke are universally known, but the individual himself is much less so; I have therefore thought that a more detailed account of his life would contribute to increase, if possible, the fame of that truly great and good man. The friends of freedom will excuse the attempt, from the veneration they feel for the man, and for the cause which he defended; they will be anxious to know more of one who so much promoted the general improvement of mankind; and they will learn with pleasure that his character was as pure and as exalted as his talents were great and useful.

There are, however, others who would fain keep mankind in a state of perpetual pupilage, who, carrying their favourite doctrine of passive obedience into all our spiritual as well as temporal concerns, would willingly deliver us over in absolute subjection, for the one to the rulers of the Church, and for the other to the rulers of the State. These men cannot be expected to entertain any admiration for the champion of reason and truth, nor from them can I hope for any approbation or favour in the present undertaking.

It is impossible, after the lapse of one hundred and thirty years, to portray with accuracy those minute features of character which make biography often so interesting when sketched by the hand of contemporaries and friends. The most authentic account of Locke, which has hitherto been published, is to be found in the "Bibliothèque Choisie," of 1716, written by Le Clerc, about twelve years after the death of his friend. In the present attempt, the order of events, and in part also the narrative of Le Clerc, has been followed; and I have endeavoured, from the letters and memorials which still remain, to make Mr. Locke, as far as possible, his own biographer.

It is necessary to observe, respecting the arrangement of the materials, that in general the letters are inserted according to their dates, but keeping each correspondence separate; the journal is introduced at that period of the author's life when it was written; it exists in the form of small separate volumes for each year, from 1675 to 1688, and appears to have served the double purpose of a Journal and Commonplace book, during his residence abroad; containing many dissertations evidently written at the moment when the thoughts occurred. The reader will find the two first of these in their original place in the Journal, but as the article on Study was extended to a great length, broken into many parts, and not brought to a conclusion without several interruptions, I thought it better to collect the whole together, and to place that, as well as all the remaining dissertations and opinions, at the end of the Journal.

The extracts from the Common-place Books; the Miscellaneous Papers; a small part, as a specimen, of an unpublished work in defence of Nonconformity, and an epitome of his Essay on Human Understanding, drawn up by Locke himself, will be found at the end of the Life. Without presuming to express any opinion of the merits of these writings, I may be excused for saying, that the excellent and highly-finished article ERROR, in the Common-place Book, and that on STUDY in the Journal, are both worthy of Mr. Locke.

It appears from the character of the handwriting in Mr. Locke's original sketches, that after having well considered his subject, he was able at once, without the least hesitation, to draw upon his own ample resources, and striking out his work, as it were, at a heat, to write down his thoughts, *currente calamo,* without difficulty, hesitation, or impediment. Perhaps this decision of the author, proceeding from his habit of previous reflection, and from his devotion to the cause of truth, gives to his writings that peculiar spirit which distinguishes them. His works, intended for publication, had of course the advantage of revision and correction; but as many of the following were extemporaneous thoughts committed hastily to paper and never afterwards corrected, the reader will make allowance for any inaccuracies that he may find in them.

Some persons may think that too many, and others that too few of the letters have been published; the great difficulty was to make a selection, and to show, without fatiguing the reader, the interest which was felt by Mr. Locke on so many different questions, the versatility of his genius, and the variety of his occupations. Of the letters from different correspondents found amongst Mr. Locke's papers, the whole of those from Sir Isaac Newton, and the greater part of those from Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Peterborough are now printed. Of the remainder, nearly one hundred are from Limborch; perhaps double that number from Monsieur Toinard, containing the scientific news of Paris from 1679 for several years following; many from Le Clerc; from M. Guenelon, of Amsterdam; from Lord Ashley, afterwards the third Earl of Shaftesbury; from Mr. Tyrrel and Dr. Thomas, Mr. Clark of Chipstead, to whom the Thoughts on Education were addressed; and from A. Collins, &c. &c., amounting altogether to some thousands in number. The desire of keeping this publication within reasonable bounds, has prevented the publication of more than a very few of these letters.

Ockham, April 24th, 1829.

ye memory is very weake, such simple Ideas quickly fade & vanish quite out of ye understanding, & leave it as cleare without any footsteps or remaining characters, as shadows doe flying over feilds of corne, & ye minde is as void of them as if they never had been there.

* * *

the Ideas as well as children of our youth often die before us, & our mindes represent to us those tombs to wch we are approaching where though ye brasse & marble remain yet the inscriptions are effaced by time & ye imagery moulders away. The pictures drawn on our mindes are laid in fading colours & if not sometimes refreshd ~~fade~~ vanish & disappear

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Yor most humble Servant

Is. Newton

Your most affectionate friend

& servant

Shaftesbury

father's papers, and thus came again into his possession.

Dec. 20.

"MOST DEAR AND EVER-LOVING FATHER,

"I did not doubt but that the noise of a very dangerous sickness here would reach you, but I am alarmed with a more dangerous disease from Pensford, and were I as secure of your health as (I thank God) I am of my own, I should not think myself in danger; but I cannot be safe so long as I hear of your weakness, and that increase of your malady upon you, which I beg that you would, by the timely application of remedies, endeavour to remove Dr. Meary has more than once put a stop to its encroachment; the same skill, the same means, the same God to bless you, is left still. Do not, I beseech you, by that care you ought to have of yourself, by that tenderness I am sure you have of us, neglect your own, and our safety too; do not, by a too pressing care for your children, endanger the only comfort they have left. I cannot distrust that Providence which hath conducted us thus far, and if either your disappointments or necessities shall reduce us to narrower conditions than you could wish, content shall enlarge it; therefore, let not these thoughts distress you. There is nothing that I have which can be so well employed as to his use, from whom I first received it; and if your convenience can leave me nothing else, I shall have a head, and hands, and industry still left me, which alone have been able to raise sufficient fortunes. Pray, Sir, therefore, make your life as comfortable and lasting as you can; let not any consideration of us cast you into the least despondency. If I have any reflections on, or desires of free and competent subsistence, it is more in reference to another (whom you may guess) to whom I am very much obliged, than for myself: but no thoughts, how important soever, shall make me forget my duty; and a father is more than all other relations; and the greatest satisfaction I can propose to myself in the world, is my hopes that you may yet live to receive the return of some comfort, for all that care and indulgence you have placed in,

" Sir, your most obedient son,

J. L."

It would have been more in the order of time, to have stated that Locke was sent to Westminster School, and from thence to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1651. His friend, Mr.

Tyrrell, the grandson of the celebrated Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, relates that Locke, in the earliest period of his residence at Oxford, was distinguished for his talents and learning, amongst his fellow-students. That he lost much time at Oxford is, however, certain, from his own confession; and if he derived little advantage from the place of his education, it cannot be ascribed to the inaptitude of his mind to make useful acquirements; the fault is to be found in his instructors, and in their system. It appears that he would have thought the method of Des Cartes preferable (though no admirer of his philosophy) to that of the established practice, either because the study of that writer gave him the first taste for philosophy, or because he admired the distinctness of his method; or, perhaps, he might consider any alteration to be an improvement, and any change a change for the better.

Although he acquired this early reputation at the University, yet he was often heard to express his regret that his father had ever sent him to Oxford; aware, from his own experience, that the method of instruction then pursued was ill calculated to open the understanding, or prepare the way for any useful knowledge.

What, indeed, could the false philosophy of the schools, and their vain disputation, profit the man who was afterwards to be distinguished above all other men, for his devoted love of truth, of unshackled inquiry, and of philosophy.

In the different systems of education, there may be that which is pernicious, that which is only useless, and that which is really useful. Perhaps the antient method may, without injustice, be classed under the first description; and the modern method, as a state of transition between the useless and the useful, far superior to what it once was, but still capable of great improvement.

That Locke regretted his education at Oxford, is stated upon the authority of his friend Le Clerc. Perhaps too much stress has been laid upon some accidental expressions, or rather, that the regrets expressed by Locke, ought to have been understood by Le Clerc to apply to the plan of education then generally pursued at English universities; for to Oxford, even as Oxford was in the days of Locke, he must have been considerably indebted. The course of study and the philosophy, bad as it was, fortunately did not attract much of his attention, and his mind escaped the trammels of the schools, and their endless perplexities and sophistry. If the system of education did not offer assistance, or afford those directions so useful to the young student, the residence at Oxford did, no doubt, confer ease, and leisure, and the opportunity of other studies; it afforded also the means of intercourse with persons, from whose society and conversation, we know, that the idea of his great work first arose.

It may be said, without offence to that antient University, that Locke, though educated within her walls, was much more indebted to himself than to his instructors, and that he was in himself an instance of that self teaching, always the most efficient and valuable, which he afterwards so strongly recommends. In answer to a letter from the Earl of Peterborough, who had applied to him to recommend a tutor for his son, he says: "I must beg leave to own that I differ a little from your Lordship in what you propose; your Lordship would have a thorough scholar, and I think it not much matter whether he be any great scholar or no; if he but understand Latin well, and have a general scheme of the sciences, I think that enough: but I would have him well-bred, well-tempered; a man that having been conversant with the world and amongst men, would have great application in observing the humour and genius of my Lord your son; and omit nothing that might help to form his mind, and dispose him to virtue, knowledge, and industry. This I look upon as the great business of a tutor; this is putting life into his pupil, which when he has got, masters of all kinds are easily to be had; for when a young gentleman has got a relish of knowledge, the love and credit of doing well spurs him on; he will, with or without teachers, make great advances in whatever he has a mind to. Mr. Newton learned his mathematics only of himself; and another friend of mine, Greek (wherein he is very well skilled) without a master; though both these studies seem more to require the help of a tutor than almost any other." In a letter to the same person on the same subject, 1697, he says: "When a man has got an entrance into any of the sciences, it will be time then to depend on himself, and rely upon his own understanding, and exercise his own faculties, which is the only way to improvement and mastery." After recommending the study of history, he farther says: "The great end of such histories as Livy, is to give an account of the actions of man as embodied in society, and so of the true foundation of politics; but the flourishings and decays of commonwealths depending not barely on the present time for what is done within themselves, but most commonly on remote and precedent constitution and events, and a train of concurrent actions amongst their neighbours as well as themselves; the order of time is absolutely necessary to a due knowledge and improvement of history, as the order of sentences in an author is necessary to be kept, to make any sense of what he says. With the reading of history, I think the study of morality should be joined; I mean not the ethics of the schools fitted to dispute, but such as Tully in his Offices, Puffendorf de Officio Hominis et Civis, de Jure Naturali et Gentium, and above all, what the New Testament teaches, wherein a man may learn to live, which is the business of ethics, and not how to define and dispute about names of virtues and vices. True politics I look on as a part of moral philosophy, which is nothing but the art of conducting men right in society, and supporting a community amongst its neighbours."

To return to Locke's habits and life at

Oxford. Le Clerc mentions, that his very early friends and companions were selected from amongst the lively and agreeable, rather than the learned of his time; and that the correspondence with which he frequently amused himself with them, had a resemblance in style and expression to the French of Voiture, although perhaps not so finished and refined as that of the French author. His letters on Toleration, and his replies to the Bishop of Worcester, show his force of argument, and his powers of wit and irony, confined always within the bounds of the most perfect civility and decorum.

The earliest of Locke's printed works is the Essay on Human Understanding: the original copy, in his own handwriting, dated 1671, is still preserved, and I find the first sketch of that work in his Common-place Book, beginning thus:—

"Sic cogitavit de intellectu humano Johannes Locke an. 1671.

"Intellectus humanus cum cognitionis certitudine et assensus firmitate.

"First, I imagine that all knowledge is founded on, and ultimately derives itself from sense, or something analogous to it, and may be called sensation, which is done by our senses conversant about particular objects, which gives us the simple ideas or images of things, and thus we come to have ideas of heat and light, hard and soft, which are nothing but the reviving again in our minds these imaginations, which those objects, when they affected our senses, caused in us—whether by motion or otherwise, it matters not here to consider,—and thus we do, when we conceive heat or light, yellow or blue, sweet or bitter, and therefore I think that those things which we call sensible qualities, are the simplest ideas we have, and the first object of our understanding."

The essay must therefore have remained in the author's possession above eighteen years before he gave it to the world, and in that space of time considerable corrections and alterations had been made. His earliest work, however, was of a political nature, and of a date much anterior, and, although evidently intended for publication, was never printed. It was written towards the end of 1660: the preface to the reader is curious, as the earliest specimen of his style and opinions, and strongly shows the desire of reasonable men of all parties to remove the difficulties which stood in the way of a final and peaceable settlement of affairs in State and Church. One of the first and most necessary measures after the Restoration, and one of the most difficult, was the settlement of the Church. The King, by his Declaration, had promised that endeavours should be used to effect a comprehension, and that such alteration should be made in the Liturgy, as should make it totally unobjectionable. The tract which Locke wrote, was intended to reconcile the Low Church party to an obedience to the civil magistrate in all indifferent things in public worship, not otherwise commanded by the word of God. It is an answer to a writer who denied the right of the civil magistrate (or supreme power) to interfere in matters of religion; and in manner and style it resembles his later controversy with Sir Robert Filmer. It is an important fact in the history of toleration, that Dr. Owen, the Independent, was Dean of Christ Church in 1651, when Locke was admitted a member of that college "under a fanatical tutor," as A. Wood says in "Athenæ Oxonienses." The charge of fanaticism made against the tutor is either an unfounded assertion of the learned but prejudiced antiquary of Oxford; or, if true, the fanaticism of the tutor had not the slightest effect on the mind of the pupil, as the bias in this treatise inclines, perhaps, too decidedly towards the side of authority. Great concessions are made in order to avoid the danger of civil discord, and for the sake of religious peace, which the author feared might be endangered by the zealots of the Millennium, and, as he expresses himself, "that the several bands of saints would not want, Venners to lead them on in the work of the Lord." The subject of the treatise was this:—

"Question:—Whether the civil magistrate may lawfully impose and determine the use of indifferent things in reference to Religious Worship?"

In the preface, the author thus expresses himself, "As for myself, there is no one can have a greater respect and veneration for authority than I. I no sooner perceived myself in the world, but I found myself in a storm, which has lasted almost hitherto, and therefore cannot but entertain the approaches of a calm with the greatest joy and satisfaction; and this, methinks, obliges me both in duty and gratitude to endeavour the continuance of such a blessing by disposing men's minds to obedience to that government, which has brought with it the quiet settlement which even our giddy folly had put beyond the reach not only of our contrivance but hopes; and I would, men would be persuaded to be so kind to their religion, their country, and themselves, as not to hazard again, the substantial blessings of peace and settlement, in an over-zealous contention about things which they themselves confess to be little, and at most are but indifferent.

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But since I find that a general freedom is but a general bondage, that the popular assertors of public liberty are the greatest ingrossers of it too, and not unfitly called its keepers, I know not whether experience would not give us some reason to think, that were the part of freedom contended for by our author generally indulged in England, it would prove only a liberty for contention, censure, and persecution.

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I have not therefore the same apprehension of liberty that some have, or can think the benefits of it to consist in a liberty for men, at pleasure, to adopt themselves children of God, and from thence assume a title to inheritances here, and proclaim themselves heirs of the world, nor a liberty for ambitious men to pull down well-framed constitutions, that out of the ruins they may build themselves fortunes; not a liberty to be Christians so as not to be subjects. All the freedom I can wish my country or myself, is to enjoy the protection of those laws which the prudence and providence of our ancestors established, and the happy return of His Majesty has restored."

It may, perhaps, be thought, that the author in his desire to avoid the tyranny of the Saints, which he seems no less to have dreaded than that of the men of the sword, had overlooked those other and more lasting evils which have almost always attended the return of exiled monarchs.

The circumstances of the times, and the altered policy of the Government towards the Presbyterian party, prevented the publication of the tract to which the preface belonged, from which the above extracts are taken. The High Church party felt their strength in the new Parliament, and the attainment of religious peace by the means of comprehension and concession, was no longer the object of the dominant faction. The Church party now, in their turn, determined to exert their power with far greater rigour than had been shown towards them by the Presbyterians when in power, and now resolved, in the fulness of victory, to exclude all those who differed from them, whether in things essential, or in things indifferent, but at all events to exclude, to punish, and to appropriate.

Whether Locke had, at any time, serious thoughts of engaging in any profession, is uncertain; his inclinations led him strongly to the study of medicine, which seems very much to have occupied his thoughts to the end of his life, as appears from the frequent memoranda of curious cases that are to be found in his diary; and from the correspondence of his friends, who occasionally consulted him to a very late period, and from the number of medical books he collected. The praise which Sydenham, the greatest authority of his time, bestows on the medical skill of Locke, affords a brilliant proof of the high estimation which his acquirements in the science of medicine, his penetrating judgment, as well as his many private virtues, procured from all who knew him. In the dedication prefixed to Dr. Sydenham's Observations on the History and Cure of Acute Diseases, 1676, he boasts of the approbation bestowed on his method by Mr. J. Locke, who (to borrow Sydenham's own words) had examined it to the bottom; and who, if we consider his genius and penetration, and exact judgment, has scarce any superior, and few

equals now living. "Nôstri præterea quàm huic meæ methodo suffragantem habeam, qui eam intimiùs per omnia perspexerat, utrique nostrûm conjunctissimum, dominum Joannem Locke; quo quidem viro, sive ingenio judicioque acri et subacto, sive etiam antiquis, hoc est, optimis moribus, vix superiorem quenquam, inter eos qui nunc sunt homines repertum iri confido, paucissimos certè pares." Mr. Dugald Stewart, in his admirable dissertation on the progress of Philosophy since the revival of letters in Europe, observes: "The merit of this method, therefore, which still continues to be regarded as a model, by the most competent judges, may be presumed to have belonged in part to Mr. Locke,—a circumstance which deserves to be noticed, as an additional confirmation of what Bacon has so sagaciously taught, concerning the dependence of all the sciences, relating to the phenomena either of matter or of mind, on principles and rules derived from the resources of a higher philosophy: on the other hand, no science could have been chosen more happily calculated than medicine to prepare such a mind as that of Locke for the prosecution of those speculations which have immortalized his name; the complicated and fugitive, and often equivocal phenomena of disease, requiring in the observer a far greater portion of discriminating sagacity than those of physics, strictly so called; resembling in this respect, much more nearly, the phenomena about which metaphysics, ethics and politics, are conversant."

In 1664, Locke appears for the first time to have engaged in the practical business of life, when he accompanied, as secretary, Sir Walter Vane, the King's envoy to the Elector of Brandenburgh, during the first Dutch war. One of the following papers is a copy of a letter partly defaced, dated Cleve, December 1664; it will show his observations on the politics and character of the Court which he visited. The other is a long detailed letter written for the amusement of a friend in England, and will give a better idea of the social qualities of the writer, than any which have yet appeared; it will make us acquainted with him in his most familiar intercourse, and show his willingness to contribute to the amusement of those he lived with; and what is not unimportant, his freedom from prejudices in an age of prejudice.

The writer had desired his friend to "throw the letter by, in a corner of his study; it will serve us to laugh at;" it was thrown by in the study, and so came again into the possession of its author, with some other letters written to the same friend, and in that way preserved.

COPY OR DRAFT OF LETTER FROM LOCKE.

"TO MR. G. Cleve, Decemb. 1664.

"I HAVE, by the post, from time to time, constantly given you my apprehension of things here; but since Sir Walter thinks he has reason to suspect that some of his dispatches have miscarried, and, therefore, has sent an express, I shall by him send you again an account of all I can learn here. I have hitherto been of the mind that their counsels here tend to the preserving a neutrality, and the reasons I had to think so were, that I saw no preparation for war, no levies made, but only talked of; and besides, I was informed that there is a great scarcity of money, that the expenses of the court are great, the debts greater, and the revenue small; and that the revenues of March and Cleve, which were wont to pay the use of old debts, are now employed in the expenses of the household during the Elector's abode here, and the creditors are to be content now without either use or principal. The business of 150,000 rix-dollars, which the Elector demands of the estates of March and Cleve, moves slowly; and though at our first coming hither it was told that it would be granted in two or three days, yet I cannot find that the Deputies are yet come to a resolution, or are like to grant it suddenly; but should the same be presently granted and paid, there are other ways to dispose of it beside armies, some of which I have mentioned to you in my former. The strong party the French and Dutch have in the Court, (amongst which are two by whose advice the Elector is much swayed,) will make it difficult to draw him to the Bishop's * side; and the consideration of religion may, perhaps, a little increase the difficulty, since it is generally apprehended here that the war is upon that score; and, perhaps, the fear of having some of his scattered countries molested by some of the Bishop's allies will make him a little cautious of declaring for the Dutch. The use you will find in the dispatch they make of late news from Ratisbon, I cannot think any other than a pretence, since I am told that the Resolution that is taken at the meeting there of assisting the Bishop is not so new that the Elector could be ignorant of it till now. I believe there is yet

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* Munster.

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a neutrality, and that at least they are not forward, or hasty to appear for either side; and perhaps, (since money seems to me to be here, as well as in other places, the great solder of pact and agreements,) they delay the bargain to raise the price, and wait for the best chapman. They treat with Holland; they treat with France; and in what terms they stand with us, you will see by Sir Walter, but I must not mention; but by the whole, I believe you will find they dally with them all. The Dutch have filled the Elector's towns upon the Rhein with their French soldiers, and they fill them with outrages, which he resents and complains of; but it still continues the same, and by this procedure the Dutch seem either very confident of his friendship, or careless of his enmity. It is said the Bishop's army is now marching; if it be upon any feasible design, he seems to have chosen a fit opportunity, whilst the States of Holland are questioning their Generals for some miscarriages in the last campaign, and things are out of order in Holland. The daughter of the old Princess of Orange is to be married to the Prince of Swerin; the celebration, which is designed here, at Cleve, before Easter, and at the Elector's charge, and other expenses of the Court,

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will not leave much for the raising of soldiers. The men of business, who are his counsellors, and manage the Elector's affairs, are only three; Baron Swerin, a man nobly born, a learned and experienced man, that well understands the state of the empire, and has most power with the Elector. Next to him is Mr. Jeana, a Doctor of Law, formerly professor at Heidelberg: he hath been about six years of the Elector's council, and is, as I am told, a knowing and confident man: the other is Mr. Blaspell, a man of mean extraction, whose great ability lies in the knowledge of the affairs of Holland; he is now there, and at his return, I hope to give you an account of his negotiation, and will endeavour to get a more particular knowledge of his parts, humours, and inclinations. He got into favour and counsel of the Court by means of the Princess Dowager, mother of the Electress, and I believe is much at her devotion. The Baron De Goes, envoy of the Emperor, returned hither last night from the Bishop of Munster; and some of his people, with whom I talk, told me that the Bishop's forces were about 16,000; that they all wanted money, and the foot, clothes; but none of them courage, or victuals; that they were all old and experienced soldiers, and they seemed all to prefer them much to the Dutch forces. They told me that many of the French ran over to the Bishop, being unwilling to fight against their own religion; that the Bishop used them kindly, gave them leave to depart, but entertained none of them in his service, being sure of soldiers enough whenever he has money. The Bishop is now at Cosfield, a strong place in his own dominions, where they saw some of the chief of the prisoners, taken at the last rencontre, entertained at the Bishop's table. His forces are now dispersed in several places, and there is like to be no engagement this winter. They all spoke very highly of the Bishop, and more affectionately than I think could be merely to comply with that concernment they might think I had in his affairs. Whether hence any thing may be guessed of the inclination of the Germans, of the Baron de Goes, or of the Emperor, I am not able to make any judgment upon so slight a conversation, but I shall endeavour to learn: only before his return, I found the Monks of the Convent where he lodges wholly inclined to the Bishop. How our affairs stand in the Court, and what progress is made, you will better understand by Sir Walter's dispatches, in which, whatever shall be found, I desire I may be considered only as transcriber."

TO MR. JOHN STRACHY, SUTTON COURT, BRISTOL.

"DEAR SIR, Cleve, 1664.

"ARE you at leisure for half an hour's trouble? will you be content I should keep up the custom of writing long letters with little in them? 'Tis a barren place, and the dull frozen part of the year, and therefore you must not expect great matters. 'Tis enough, that at Christmas you have empty Christmas tales fit for the chimney corner. To begin, therefore, December 15th, (here 25th,) Christmas-day, about one in the morning, I went a gossipping to our Lady; think me not profane, for the name is a great deal modester than the service I was at. I shall not describe all the particulars I observed in that church, being the principal of the Catholics in Cleves; but only those that were particular to the occasion. Near the high altar was a little altar for this day's solemnity; the scene was a stable, wherein was an ox, an ass, a cradle, the Virgin, the babe, Joseph, shepherds, and angels, dramatis personæ: had they but given them motion, it had been a perfect puppet play, and might have deserved pence a-piece; for they were of the same size and make that our English puppets are; and I am confident, these shepherds and this Joseph are kin to that Judith and Holophernes which I have seen at Bartholomew fair. A little without the stable was a flock of sheep, cut out of cards; and these, as they then stood without their shepherds, appeared to me the best emblem I had seen a long time, and methought represented these poor innocent people, who, whilst their shepherds pretend so much to follow Christ, and pay their devotion to him, are left unregarded in the barren wilderness. This was the show: the music to it was all vocal in the quire adjoining, but such as I never heard. They had strong voices, but so ill-tuned, so ill-managed, that it was their misfortune, as well as ours, that they could be heard. He that could not, though he had a cold, make better music with a chevy chace over a pot of smooth ale, deserved well to pay the reckoning, and go away athirst. However, I think they were the honestest singing men I have ever seen, for they endeavoured to deserve their money, and earned it certainly with pains enough; for what they wanted in skill they made up in loudness and variety: every one had his own tune, and the result of all was like the noise of choosing Parliament men, where every one endeavours to cry loudest. Besides the men, there were a company of little choristers: I thought when I saw them at first, they had danced to the others' music, and that it had been your Gray's Inn revels; for they were jumping up and down, about a good charcoal fire that was in the middle of the quire (this their devotion and their singing was enough, I think, to keep them warm, though it were a very cold night); but it was not dancing, but singing they served for; when it came to their turns, away they ran to their places, and there they made as good harmony as a concert of little pigs would, and they were much about as cleanly. Their part being done, out they sallied again to the fire, where they played till their cue called them, and then back to their places they huddled. So negligent and slight are they in their service in a place where the nearness of adversaries might teach them to be more careful; but I suppose the natural tendency of these outside performances, and these mummeries in religion, would bring it every where to this pass, did not fear and the severity of the magistrate preserve it; which being taken away here, they very easily suffer themselves to slobber over their ceremonies, which in other places are kept up with so much zeal and exactness; but methinks they are not to be blamed, since the one seems to me as much religion as the other. In the afternoon, I went to the Carthusians' church; they had their little gentry too, but in finer clothes; and their angels with surplices on, and singing books in their hands; for here is nothing to be done without books. Hither were crowded a great throng of children to see these pretty babies, and I amongst them, as wise and as devout as they, and for my pains had a good sprinkle of holy water, and now I may defy the devil: thus have I begun the holidays with Christmas gambols. But had I understood the language, I believe, at the Reformed church, I had found something more serious; for they have two sermons at their church, for Christmas lasts no longer here. That which pleased me most was, that at the same Catholic church the next day, I saw our Lady all in white linen, dressed as one that is newly lain in, and on her lap something that, perhaps twenty years since, was designed for a baby, but now it was grown to have a beard; and methought was not so well used as our country fellows used to be, who, though they escape all the year, are usually trimmed at Christmas. They must pardon me for being merry, for it is Christmas: but, to be serious with you, the Catholic religion is a different thing from what we believe it in England. I have other thoughts of it than when I was in a place that is filled with prejudices, and things are known only by hearsay. I have not met with any so good-natured people, or so civil, as the Catholic priests, and I have received many courtesies from them, which I shall always gratefully acknowledge. But to leave the good-natured Catholics, and to give you a little account of our brethren the Calvinists, that differ very little from our English Presbyterians. I met lately, accidentally, with a young sucking divine, that thought himself no small champion; who, as if he had been some knight-errant, bound by oath to bid battle to all comers, first accosted me in courteous voice; but the customary salute being over, I found myself assaulted most furiously, and heavy loads of arguments fell upon me. I, that expected no such thing, was fain to guard myself under the trusty broad shield of ignorance, and only now and then returned a blow by way of enquiry: and by this Parthian way of flying, defended myself till passion and want of breath had made him weary, and so we came to an accommodation; though, had he had lungs enough, and I no other use of my ears, the combat might have lasted (if that may be called a combat, ubi tu cades ego vapulo tantum) as long as the wars of Troy, and the end of all had been like that, nothing but some rubbish of divinity as useless and incoherent as the ruins the Greeks left behind them. This was a probationer in theology, and, I believe, (to keep still to my errantry) they are bound to show their prowess with some valiant unknown, before they can be dubbed, and receive the dignity of the order. I cannot imagine why else he should set upon me, a poor innocent wight, who thought nothing of a combat, and desired to be peaceable, and was too far from my own dunghill to be quarrelling; but it is no matter, there were no wounds made but in Priscian's head, who suffers much in this country. This provocation I have sufficiently revenged upon one of their church, our landlord, who is wont sometimes to germanize and to be a little too much of the creature. These frailties I threaten him to discover to his pastor, who will be sure to rebuke him (but sparing his name) the next Sunday from the pulpit, and severely chastise the liberty of his cups; thus I sew up the good man's mouth, because the other gaped too much, and made him as much bear my tongue, as I was punished with the other's. But for all this, he will sometimes drink himself into a defiance of divines and discipline, and hearken only to Bacchus's inspirations You must not expect any thing remarkable from me all the following week, for I have spent it in getting a pair of gloves, and think too, I have had a quick despatch; you will perhaps wonder at it, and think I talk like a traveller; but I will give you the particulars of the business. Three days were spent in finding out a glover, for though I can walk all the town over in less than an hour, yet their shops are so contrived, as if they were designed to conceal, not expose their wares; and though you may think it strange, yet, methinks, it is very well done, and 'tis a becoming modesty to conceal that which they have reason enough to be ashamed of. But to proceed; the two next days were spent in drawing them on, the right hand glove, (or as they call them here, hand shoe) Thursday, and the left hand, Friday, and I'll promise you this was two good days' work, and little enough to bring them to fit my hands and to consent to be fellows, which, after all, they are so far from, that when they are on, I am always afraid my hands should go to cuffs, one with another, they so disagree: Saturday we concluded on the price, computed, and changed our money, for it requires a great deal of arithmetic and a great deal of brass to pay twenty-eight stivers, and seven doits; but, God be thanked, they are all well fitted with counters for reckoning; for their money is good for nothing else, and I am poor here with my pockets full of it. I wondered at first why the market people brought their wares in little carts, drawn by one horse, till I found it necessary to carry home the price of them; for a horse-load of turnips, would be two horse-load of money. A pair of shoes cannot be got under half a year: I lately saw the cow killed, out of whose hide I hope to have my next pair. The first thing after they are married here is to bespeak the child's coat, and truly the bridegroom must be a bungler that gets not the child before the mantle be made; for it is far easier here to have a man made than a suit. To be serious with you, they are the slowest people, and fullest of delays that ever I have met with, and their money as bad. December 22nd I saw the inscription that entitles the Elector's house here to so much antiquity; it stands at the upper end of a large room, which is the first entrance into the house, and is as follows:—"Anno ab urbe Romanâ conditâ 698 Julius Cæsar Dictator hisce partibus in ditionem susceptis arcem hanc Clivensem fund." I know not how old the wall was that bore it, but the inscription was certainly much younger than I am, as appears by the characters and other circumstances; however, I believe the painter reverenced the antiquity, and did homage to the memory of Cæsar, and was not averse to a tradition which the situation and antique mode of building made not improbable. The same time, I had the favour to see the kitchen and the cellar, and though in the middle of the first there was made on the floor a great fire big enough to broil half a dozen St. Laurences, yet methought the cellar was the better place, and so I made haste to leave it, and have little to say of it, unless you think fit I should tell you how many rummers of Rhenish I drank, and how many biscuits I ate, and that I had there almost learned to speak High Dutch. December 24,—At the Lutherans' church, after a good lusty, rattling High Dutch sermon, the sound whereof would have made one think it had the design of reproof, I had an opportunity to observe the administration of the Sacrament, which was thus:—the sermon being ended, the minister that preached not (for they have two to a church) stood up at a little desk which was upon the communion table, almost at the upper end of the church, and then read a little while, part of which reading I judged to be prayer, but observed no action that looked like consecration, (I know not what the words were); when he had done, he placed himself at the north end of the table, and the other minister that preached, at the south end, so that their backs were toward one another; then there marched up to him on the north side a communicant, who, when he came to the minister, made a low bow, and knelt down, and then the minister put water into his mouth; which done, he rose, made his obeisance, and went to the other end, where he did the same, and had the wine poured into his mouth, without taking the cup in his hand, and then came back to his place by the south side of the church. Thus did four, one after another, which were all that received that day, and amongst them was a boy, about thirteen or fourteen years old. They have at this church a sacrament every Sunday morning: in the afternoon, at the Calvinists', I saw a christening. After sermon there came three men and three women (one whereof was the midwife, with a child in her arms, the rest were godfathers and godmothers, of which they allow a greater number than we do, and so wisely get more spoons)—to the table which is just by the pulpit. They taking their places, the minister in the pulpit read a little of the Institution, then read a short prayer; then another minister, that was below, took the child, and with his hand poured water three times on its forehead, which done, he in the pulpit read another short prayer, and so concluded. All this was not much longer than the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments; for all their service is very short, beside their preaching and singing, and there they allow good measure."

TO THE SAME.

"DEAR SIR,

"THE old opinion, that every man had his particular genius that ruled and directed his course of life, hath made me sometimes laugh to think what a pleasant thing it would be if we could see little sprights bestride men, (as plainly as I see here women bestride horses,) ride them about, and spur them on in that way which they ignorantly think they choose themselves. And would you not smile to observe that they make use of us as we do of our palfreys, to trot up and down for their pleasure and not our own? To what purpose this from Cleves? I will tell you: if there be any such thing, (as I cannot vouch the contrary,) certainly mine is an academic goblin. When I left Oxford, I thought for a while to take leave of all University affairs, and should have least expected to have found any thing of that nature here at Cleves of any part of the world. But do what I can, I am still kept in that tract. I no sooner was got here, but I was welcomed with a divinity disputation, which I gave you an account of in my last; I was no sooner rid of that, but I found myself up to the ears in poetry, and overwhelmed in Helicon. I had almost or rather have been soused in the Reyne, as frozen as it was, for it could not have been more cold and intolerable than the poetry I met with. The remembrance of it puts me in a chill sweat, and were it not that I am obliged to recount all particulars, being under the laws of an historian, I should find it very difficult to recall to mind this part of my story: but having armed myself with a good piece of bag pudding, which bears a mighty antipathy to poetry, and having added thereto half a dozen glasses of daring wine, I thus proceed:—My invisible master, therefore, having mounted me, rode me out to a place, where I must needs meet a learned bard in a threadbare coat, and a hat, that though in its younger days it had been black, yet it was grown grey with the labour of its master's brains, and his hard study or time had changed the colour of that as well as his master's hair. His breeches had the marks of antiquity upon them, were borne, I believe, in the heroic times, and retained still the gallantry of that age, and had an antipathy to base pelf. Stockings I know not whether he had any, but I am sure his two shoes had but one heel, which made his own foot go as uneven as those of his verses. He was so poor, that he had not so much as a rich face, nor the promise of a carbuncle in it, so that I must needs say that his outside was poet enough. After a little discourse, wherein he sprinkled some bays on our British Druid Owen, out he drew from under his coat a folio of verses; and that you may be sure they were excellent, I must tell you that they were acrostics upon the name and titles of the Elector of Brandenburg. I could not escape reading of them: when I had done, I endeavoured to play the poet a little in commending them, but in that he outdid me clearly, praised faster than I could, preferred them to Lucan and Virgil, showed me where his muse flew high, squeezed out all the verjuice of all his conceits, and there was not a secret conundrum which he laid not open to me; and in that little talk I had with him afterwards, he quoted his own verses a dozen times, and gloried in his works. The Poem was designed as a present to the Elector, but I being Owen's countryman had the honour to see them before the Elector, which he made me understand was a singular courtesy, though I believe one hundred others had been equally favoured. I told him the Elector must needs give him a considerable reward; he seemed angry at the mention of it, and told me he had only a design to show his affection and parts, and spoke as if he thought himself fitter to give than to receive any thing from the Elector, and that he was the greater person of the two; and indeed, what need had he of any gift, who had all Tagus and Pactolus in his possession? could make himself a Tempe when he pleased, and create as many Elysiums as he had a mind to. I applauded his generosity and great mind, thanked him for the favour he had done me, and at last got out of his hands. But my University goblin left me not so; for the next day, when I thought I had been rode out only to airing, I was had to a foddering of chopped bay or logic forsooth! Poor *materia prima* was canvassed cruelly, stripped of all the gay dress of her forms, and shown naked to us, though, I must confess, I had not eyes good enough to see her; however, the dispute was good sport, and would have made a horse laugh, and truly I was like to have broke my bridle. The young monks (which one would not guess by their looks) are subtile people, and dispute as eagerly for *materia prima*, as if they were to make their dinner on it, and, perhaps, sometimes it is all their meal, for which others' charity is more to be blamed than their stomachs. The Professor of philosophy and moderator of the disputation was more acute at it than Father Hudibras; he was top full of distinctions, which he produced with so much gravity, and applied with so good a grace, that ignorant I, began to admire logic again, and could not have thought that "simpliciter et secundum quid materialiter et formaliter" had been such gallant things, which, with the right stroking of his whiskers, the settling of his hood, and his stately walk, made him seem to himself and me something more than Aristotle and Democritus. But he was so hotly charged by one of the seniors of the fraternity that I was afraid sometimes what it would produce, and feared there would be no other way to decide the controversy between them but by cuffs; but a subtile distinction divided the matter between them, and so they parted good friends. The truth is, here hog-shearing is much in its glory, and our disputing in Oxford comes as far short of it as the rhetoric of Carfax does that of Billingsgate. But it behoves the monks to cherish this art of wrangling in its declining age, which they first nursed, and sent abroad into the world, to give it a troublesome, idle employment. I being a brute, that was rode there for another's pleasure, profited little by all their reasonings, and was glad when they had done, that I might get home again to my ordinary provender, and leave them their sublime speculations, which certainly their spare diet and private cells inspire abundantly, which such gross feeders as I am are not capable of."

"DEAR SIR, Dec. 1664.

"THIS day our public entertainment upon the Elector's account ended, much to my satisfaction; for I had no great pleasure in a feast where, amidst a great deal of meat and company, I had little to eat, and less to say. The advantage was, the lusty Germans fed so heartily themselves, that they regarded not much my idleness; and I might have enjoyed a perfect quiet, and slept out the meal, had not a glass of wine now and then jogged me; and indeed, therein lay the care of their entertainment, and the sincerity too, for the wine was such as might be known, and was not ashamed of itself. But for their meats, they were all so disguised, that I should have guessed they had rather designed a mass than a meal, and had a mind rather to pose than feed us. But the cook made their metamorphosis like Ovid's, where the change is usually into the worse. I had, however, courage to venture upon things unknown; and I could not often tell whether I ate flesh or fish, or good red herring, so much did they dissemble themselves; only now and then, a dish of good honest fresh-water fish came in, so far from all manner of deceit or cheat, as they hid not so much as their tails in a drop of butter; nor was there any sauce near to disguise them. What think you of a hen and cabbage? or a piece of powdered beef covered over with preserved quinces? These are no miracles here. One thing there is that I like very well, which is, that they have good salads all the year, and use them frequently. It is true, the Elector gave his victuals, but the officers that attended us valued their services, and one of them had ready in his pocket a list of those that expected rewards at such a rate, that the attendance cost more than the meat was worth.

"Dec. 9.—I was invited and dined at a monastery with the Franciscan friars, who had before brought a Latin epistle to us for relief; for they live upon others' charity, or more truly, live idly upon others' labours. But to my dinner, for my mouth waters to be at it, and no doubt you will long for such another entertainment when you know this. After something instead of grace or music, choose you whether, for I could make neither of it; for though what was sung were Latin, yet the tune was such, that I neither understood the Latin nor the harmony. The beginning of the Lord's Prayer to the first petition, they repeated aloud, but went on silently to "sed libera nos," &c. and then broke out into a loud chorus, which continued to the end; during their silence, they stooped forwards, and held their heads as if they had been listening to one another's whispers. After this preludium, down we sat; the chief of the monks (I suppose the prior) in the inside of the table, just in the middle, and all his brethren on each side of him; I was placed just opposite to him, as if I had designed to bid battle to them all. But we were all very quiet, and after some silence, in marched a solemn procession of peas-porridge, every one his dish. I could not tell by the looks what it was, till putting my spoon in for discovery, some few peas in the bottom peeped up. I had pity on them, and was willing enough to spare them, but was forced by good manners, though against my nature and appetite, to destroy some of them, and so on I fell. All this while not a word; I could not tell whether to impute the silence to the eagerness of their stomachs, which allowed their mouths no other employment but to fill them, or any other reason; I was confident it was not in admiration of their late music. At last, the oracle of the place spoke, and told them he gave them leave to speak to entertain me. I returned my compliment, and then to discourse we went, helter-skelter, as hard as our bad Latin, and worse pronunciation on each side, would let us;

but no matter, we cared not for Priscian, whose head suffered that day not a little. However, this saved me from the peas-pottage, and the peas-pottage from me; for now I had something else to do. Our next course was, every one his act of fish, and butter to boot; but whether it were intended for fresh or salt fish I cannot tell, and I believe it is a question as hard as any Thomas ever disputed: our third service was cheese and butter, and the cheese had this peculiar in it, which I never saw any where else, that it had carraway seeds in it. The prior had upon the table by him a little bell, which he rang when he wanted any thing, and those that waited never brought him any thing or took away but they bowed with much reverence, and kissed the table. The prior was a good plump fellow, that had more belly than brains; and methought was very fit to be reverenced, and not much unlike some head of a college. I liked him well for an entertainment; for if we had had a good dinner, he would not have disturbed me much with his discourse. The first that kissed the table did it so leisurely that I thought he had held his head there that the prior, during our silence, might have wrote something on his bald crown, and made it sink that way into his understanding. Their beer was pretty good, but their countenances bespoke better: their bread brown, and their table-linen neat enough. After dinner, we had the second part of the same tune, and after that I departed. The truth is, they were very civil and courteous, and seemed good-natured: it was their time of fast in order to Christmas: if I have another feast there, you shall be my guest. You will perhaps have reason to think that whatever becomes of the rest, I shall bring home my belly well-improved, since all I tell you is of eating and drinking; but you must know that knight errants do not choose their adventures, and those who sometimes live pleasantly in brave castles, amidst feasting and ladies, are at other times in battles and wildernesses, and you must take them as they come.

"Dec. 10.—I went to the Lutheran church, and found them all merrily singing with their hats on; so that by the posture they were in, and the fashion of the building, not altogether unlike a theatre, I was ready to fear that I had mistook the place. I thought they had met only to exercise their voices: for after a long stay they still continued on their melody, and I verily believe they sung the 119th Psalm, nothing else could be so long: that that made it a little tolerable was, that they sung better than we do in our churches, and are assisted by an organ. The music being done, up went the preacher, and prayed; and then they sung again; and then, after a little prayer at which they all stood up, (and, as I understand since, was the Lord's Prayer) read some of the Bible; and then, laying by his book, preached to them *memoriter*. His sermon, I think, was in blank verse; for by the modulation of his voice, which was not very pleasant, his periods seemed to be all nearly the same length; but if his matter were no better than his delivery, those that slept had no great loss, and might have snored as harmoniously. After sermon a prayer, and the organ and voice again; and to conclude all, up stood another minister at a little desk, above the communion table, (for in the Lutheran and Calvinist churches here there are no chancels,) gave the benediction, which I was told was the "Ite in nomine Domini!" crossed himself, and so dismissed them. In the church I observed two pictures, one a crucifix, the other I could not well discern; but in the Calvinist church no picture at all. Here are, besides Catholics, Calvinists, and Lutherans (which three are allowed), Jews, Anabaptists, and Quakers. The Quakers, who are about thirty families, and some of them not of the meanest; and they increase, for as much as I can learn, they agree with ours in other things as well as name, and take no notice of the Elector's prohibiting their meeting.

"Dec. 11.—I had formerly seen the size and arms of the Duke's guards, but to-day I had a sample of their stomachs, (I mean to eat, not to fight;) for if they be able to do as much that way too, no question but under their guard the Duke is as much in safety as I believe his victuals are in danger. But to make you the better understand my story, and the decorum which made me take notice of it, I must first describe the place to you. The place where the Elector commonly eats is a large room, into which you enter at the lower end by an ascent of some few steps; just without this is a lobby: as this evening I was passing through it into the court, I saw a company of soldiers very close together, and a steam rising from the midst of them. I, as strangers use to be, being a little curious, drew near to these men of mettle, where I found three or four earthen fortifications, wherein were intrenched peas-porridge, and stewed turnips or apples, most valiantly stormed by those men of war: they stood just opposite to the Duke's table, and within view of it; and had the Duke been there at supper, as it was very near his supper time, I should have thought they had been set there to provoke his appetite by example, and serve as the cocks have done in some countries before battle, to fight the soldiers into courage, and certainly these soldiers might eat others into stomachs. Here you might have seen the court and camp drawn near together, there a supper preparing with great ceremony, and just by it a hearty meal made without stool, trencher, table-cloth, or napkins, and for aught I could see, without beer, bread, or salt; but I stayed not long, for methought 'twas a dangerous place, and so I left them in the engagement. I doubt by that time you come to the end of this course of entertainment, you will be as weary of reading as I am of writing, and therefore I shall refer you for the rest of my adventures (wherein you are not to expect any great matter) to the next chapter of my history. The news here is, that the Dutch have taken Lochem from the Bishop of Munster, and he, in thanks, has taken and killed five or six hundred of their men. The French, they say, run away, some home, and some to the Bishop, who has disposed his men into garrisons, which has given the Dutch an opportunity to besiege another of his towns, but not very considerable: all things here seem to threaten a great deal of stir next summer, but as yet the Elector declares for neither side. I sent my uncle a letter of attorney before I left England, to authorise him to dispose of my affairs there, and order my estate as he should think most convenient: I hope he received it. I think it best my tenants should not know that I am out of England, for perhaps that may make them the more slack to pay their rents. If he tells you any thing that concerns me, pray send word to your faithful friend, J. L."

"Throw by this in some corner of your study till I come, and then we will laugh together, for it may serve to recall other things to my memory, for 'tis like I may have no other journal."

Locke returned to England in February 1665, and was at that time undecided whether or not to continue in the public employment, and accept an offer to go to Spain. In a letter to the same friend, Mr. Strachy, after mentioning the latest news—

"That the French fill their towns towards England and Holland with soldiers; but whatever we apprehend, I scarce believe with a design of landing in England;" he says, "what private observations I have made will be fitter for our table at Sutton than a letter, and if I have the opportunity to see you shortly, we may possibly laugh together at some German stories; but of my coming into the country I write doubtfully to you, for I am now offered a fair opportunity of going into Spain with the Ambassador: if I embrace it, I shall conclude this my wandering year; if not, you will ere long see me in Somersetshire. If I go, I shall not have above ten days' stay in England: I am pulled both ways by divers considerations, and do yet waver. I intend to-morrow for Oxford, and shall there take my resolution. This town affords little news, and though the return of the Court gives confidence to the timorous that kept from it for fear of the infection, yet I find the streets very thin, and methinks the town droops. Yours most faithfully,

JOHN LOCKE."

"London, Feb. 22, 65."

The resolution was taken soon after his arrival at Oxford, not to accept the offer of going to Spain.

"DEAR SIR,

"I wrote to you from London as soon as I came thither, to let you know you had a servant returned to England, but very likely to leave it again before he saw you. But those fair offers I had to go to Spain have not prevailed with me: whether fate or fondness kept me at home I know not; whether I have let slip the minute that they say every one has once in his life to make himself, I cannot tell: this I am sure, I never trouble myself for the loss of that which I never had; and have the satisfaction that I hope shortly to see you at Sutton Court, a greater rarity than my travels have afforded me; for, believe it, one may go a long way before one meet a friend. Pray write by the post, and let me know how you do, and what you can tell of the concernment of,

Your most affectionate friend,
J. LOCKE."

"Oxford, Feb. 28, 65."

The following letter from Locke to his friend Mr. Strachy, describing the disaster at Chatham, when the Dutch fleet sailed into the Medway, may not be uninteresting; it was in all probability written during his residence with Lord Shaftesbury in London.

"SIR, June 15, 67.

"I believe report hath increased the ill news we have here; therefore, to abate what possibly fear may have rumoured, I send you what is vouched here for nearest the truth. The Dutch have burned seven of our ships in Chatham, viz. the Royal James, Royal Oak, London, Unity, St. Matthias, Charles V., and the Royal Charles, which some say they have towed off, others that they have burned. One man of war of theirs was blown up, and three others they say are stuck in the sands; the rest of their fleet is fallen down out of the Medway into the Thames. It was neither excess of courage on their part, nor want of courage in us, that brought this loss upon us; for when the English had powder and shot they fought like themselves, and made the Dutch feel them; but whether it were fortune, or fate, or any thing else, let time and tongues tell you, for I profess I would not believe what every mouth speaks. It is said this morning the French fleet are seen off the Isle of Wight. I have neither the gift nor heart to prophesy, and since I remember you bought a new cloak in the hot weather, I know you are apt enough to provide against a storm. Should I tell you that I believe but half what men of credit and eye witnesses report, you would think the world very wicked and foolish, or me very credulous. Things and persons are the same here, and go on at the same rate they did before, and I, among the rest, design to continue

Your faithful friend and servant,

J. L.

"I think the hull of three or four of our great ships are saved, being sunk to prevent their burning totally. We are all quiet here, but raising of forces apace."

This and other letters to Mr. Strachy were probably returned to Locke, after the death of the friend to whom they had been written.

He had again an offer of an employment abroad in the following August, and continued, as late as May 1666, to receive letters from an agent in Germany, who appears to have been employed to send intelligence for the information of some member of the Government here. There exist several letters, dated Cleve, from this person to Locke, then at Oxford; but as they relate to events no longer of any importance, it is unnecessary to give their contents, however amusing the German description of the Coyness and Coquetry of a German Elector and his Minister, on those truly national and interesting questions, soldier-selling and subsidies.

In 1666 an offer of a different nature was made through a friend in Dublin, to procure a considerable preferment in the Church from the Duke of Ormond, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, if Locke should be inclined to engage in the clerical profession; and a draft of his answer has been preserved, which will show his conscientious scruples, and the objections which determined him to refuse the advantageous offer then held out to him.

After expressing how much he felt indebted to the kindness of his friend, he proceeds thus:—

"The proposals, no question, are very considerable; but consider, a man's affairs and whole course of his life are not to be changed in a moment, and that one is not made fit for a calling, and that in a day. I believe you think me too proud to undertake any thing wherein I should acquit myself but unworthily. I am sure I cannot content myself with being undermost, possibly the middlemost of my profession; and you will allow, on consideration, care is to be taken not to engage in a calling, wherein, if one chance to be a bungler, there is no retreat. A person must needs be very quick or inconsiderate, that can on a sudden resolve to transplant himself from a country, affairs, and study, upon probability, which, though your interest there may make you look on as certain, yet my want of fitness may probably disappoint: for certainly something is required on my side. It is not enough for such places to be in orders, and I cannot think that preferment of that nature should be thrown upon a man who has never given any proof of himself, nor ever tried the pulpit. Would you not think it a stranger question, if I were to ask you whether I must be first in these places or in orders; and yet, if you will consider with me, it will not perhaps seem altogether irrational; for should I put myself into orders, and, by the meanness of my abilities, grow unworthy such expectations, (for you do not think that divines are now made, as formerly, by inspiration and on a sudden, nor learning caused by laying on of hands,) I unavoidably lose all my former study, and put myself into a calling that will not leave me. Were it a profession from whence there were any return—and that, amongst all the occurrences of life, may be very convenient—you would find me with as great forwardness to embrace your proposals, as I now acknowledge them with gratitude. The same considerations have made me a long time reject very advantageous offers of several very considerable friends in England. I cannot now be forward to disgrace you, or any one else, by being lifted into a place which perhaps I cannot fill, and from whence there is no descending without tumbling. If any shame or misfortune attend me, it shall be only mine; and if I am covetous of any good fortune, 'tis that one I love may share it with me. But your great obligation is not the less, because I am not in a condition to receive the effect of it. I return all manner of acknowledgment due to so great a favour, and shall watch all occasions to let you see how sensible I am of it, and to assure you I am," &c. &c.

Had he accepted this offer of preferment; had he risen beyond that middlemost station in the Church, which his own modesty made him assign to himself, and to which his virtues must have condemned him: had he even risen to the highest station in that profession, he might have acquired all the reputation which belongs to a divine of great talents and learning, or the still higher distinction of great moderation, candour, and Christian charity, so rare in a high churchman; but most certainly he would never have attained the name of a great philosopher, who has extended the bounds of human knowledge.

There occurred in the course of Locke's life the choice of three distinct roads to fortune, and perhaps to celebrity, either of which was capable of influencing most powerfully, if not of totally changing his future destiny. The temptation of considerable preferment in the Church, already mentioned, the practice of physic as a profession, or the opportunity of engaging in diplomatic employments, from which last he seems, by his own account, to have had a narrow escape. It would have been unfortunate for his own renown, had he been swayed by the advantages which at different times were held out to him; it would also have been unfortunate for the progress of knowledge in the world, if he had placed himself under the influence of circumstances so capable of diverting the current of his thoughts, and changing his labours from their proper and most useful destination; namely, the lifting of the veil of error; because an age might have elapsed before the appearance of so bold a searcher after truth.

It appears, from Boyle's General History of the Air, that in 1666 Locke was engaged in experimental philosophy; as he began a register of the state of the air in the month of June of that year, and continued it, with many interruptions, however, and some of very long continuance, till his final departure from Oxford in 1683. In a letter from Mr. Boyle, somewhat earlier than the first printed observations, after praising the industry and curiosity of his correspondent, he expresses a wish that he should "search into the nature of minerals," and promises to send some sheets of articles of enquiry into mines; and it seems that Locke was at that time much engaged in chymical as well as physical studies.

In the same year, 1666, he first became acquainted with Lord Ashley, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Shaftesbury; and as accidents are frequently said to have the greatest influence in determining the course of men's lives, so, in this instance, the merest accident produced an acquaintance which was afterwards ripened into the closest intimacy, and was the cause of turning his attention to political subjects, and thus materially affected the course of his future life.

Lord Ashley, we are informed, was suffering from an abscess in his breast, the consequence of a fall from his horse; and came to Oxford in order to drink the water of Astrop. He had written to Dr. Thomas to procure the waters for him on his arrival at Oxford, but this physician happening to be called away from that place, desired Locke to execute the commission. By some accident, the waters were not ready when Lord Ashley arrived; and Locke waited upon him to apologize for the disappointment occasioned by the fault of the messenger sent to procure them. Lord Ashley received him with great civility, and was not only satisfied with his excuse, but was so much pleased with his conversation, that he desired to improve an acquaintance thus begun by accident, and which afterwards grew into a friendship that continued unchanged to the end of his life.

Lord Ashley, better known as Lord Shaftesbury, was a man of the greatest penetration and genius, to which he united the most engaging manners and address. We may therefore readily believe what Le Clerc tells us, that Locke, on his part, was no less anxious to cultivate the acquaintance of so distinguished a person. If the first services which Locke was enabled to render Lord Ashley were derived from his medical science, his sagacity and talent for business of every kind soon led to the most unreserved confidence; and he continued, during the whole course of his life, through good report and evil report, steadily attached to his patron and his friend; nor will it be denied, that this steadiness of attachment was alike honourable to both. Mr. Fox says, that Locke "was probably caught by the splendid qualities of Shaftesbury; his courage, his openness, his party zeal, his eloquence, his fair-dealing with his friends, and his superiority to vulgar corruption; and that his partiality might make him, on the other hand, blind to the indifference with which he (Shaftesbury) espoused either monarchical, arbitrary, or republican principles, as best suited his ambition. The greatest blots in Shaftesbury's character are his sitting on the Trials of the Regicides, and his persecution of the Papists in the affair of the Popish Plot, merely, as it should seem, because it suited the parties with which he was engaged." In neither of these transactions could Locke have had the least part, as he had resided for more than three years on the Continent, chiefly in France, for the benefit of his health, and remained there during the heat and fury excited by the discovery of the Popish Plot. He had left England in December 1675, and returned not again before the 10th of May 1679. It will be remembered, that Bedloe's Narrative, and the trials, if they can so be called, of the Catholics charged with the plot, had taken place in 1678, and were finished in the early part of the following year. There cannot, therefore, be the slightest reason to suspect that Locke could have assisted in the remotest manner to excite the blind No Popery rage of those disgraceful times. Even had he been within the atmosphere of the raging epidemic; the love of truth, which at all times so nobly distinguished him, would have preserved him from the national contagion. Although it is impossible to give the same verdict of not guilty in favour of Shaftesbury: yet, when we consider the temper of the age, and the delusions under which men laboured, some allowance must be made for that great party-leader, who, with all his faults, undoubtedly possessed many great qualities; and before passing our final sentence upon him, one thing must never be forgotten, that to Shaftesbury we owe the Habeas Corpus Act; a political merit of such magnitude, that, like the virtue of charity, it may justly be said to cover a multitude of sins.

To return, however, to the early period of the connexion with Lord Ashley, we learn that, from Oxford, Locke accompanied him to Sunning-hill Wells, and afterwards resided for some time, towards the end of the year, at Exeter-House, in the Strand. Lord Ashley, also, by his advice, underwent an operation, which saved his life, the opening of an abscess on his breast. During this residence with Lord Ashley in London, he had the opportunity of seeing many of the most distinguished characters of those times, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Halifax, &c. who, we are told, enjoyed the style of his conversation, which was a happy union of wit and good sense. Le Clerc tells a story, that once, when three or four of these noblemen had met at Lord Ashley's, and, without much prelude, sat down to the card-table, Locke, taking out his pocket-book, and looking at the company, began to write, with the appearance of great attention. One of the party observing him occupied in this manner, enquired what he was writing; to which Locke replied, that he was extremely desirous of profiting by their Lordships' conversation, and having waited impatiently for the opportunity of enjoying the society of some of the greatest wits of the age, he thought he could do no better than to take down verbatim what they said, and he began to read the notes that he had made. Of course, it was not necessary to proceed far; the jest produced the effect, the card-table was deserted, and the remainder of the evening was passed in a more rational and agreeable manner.

We learn from Le Clerc, that Locke was consulted by Lord Ashley in all his affairs, even in the most interesting concerns of his family. He resided partly at Exeter-House, and partly at Oxford; at which last place we know that, in 1670, his great work, the Essay on Human Understanding, was first sketched out. It arose from the meeting, as the author says, of five or six friends at his chambers, who finding difficulties in the enquiry and discussion they were engaged in, he was induced to examine what objects our understandings were, or were not, fitted to deal with. The hasty thoughts which he set down against the next meeting, gave the first entrance to that discourse which, after long intervals, and many interruptions, was at last, during a period of leisure and retirement, brought into the order it assumed, when given to the world eighteen years afterwards. It has been said before, that a copy of the Essay exists with the date of 1671, and it may here be added, that the names of two of the friends alluded to were Tyrrell and Thomas, a part of whose correspondence, as connected with the publication of the Essay, will appear when we come to that time.

In 1672, Lord Ashley, after filling the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, was created Earl of Shaftesbury, and declared Lord Chancellor. He then appointed Locke his Secretary for the presentation of benefices, and also to some office in the Council of Trade; both of which he quitted in 1673, when Shaftesbury quarrelled with the Court, and placed himself at the head of the Country party in Parliament.

It was at the opening of the Parliament in 1673, that Shaftesbury made use of that extraordinary expression, in reference to the war with Holland, "delenda est Carthago;" not, it must be observed, in his speech as a peer, expressing his own individual opinion, but in what may be called a supplemental speech made by the Lord Chancellor (according to the practice of the time) to that delivered by the King in person, and previously determined upon by the King in Council. Shaftesbury expressed to Locke the vexation he felt at being made the organ of such sentiments; and practised as he was as a speaker and politician, and possessing as he did the greatest presence of mind on all occasions, yet on this he desired Locke to stand near him with a copy of the speech in his hand, that he might be ready to assist his memory, in case he should require it, in the painful task of delivering an official speech containing opinions so contrary to his own.

During this administration, that unprincipled measure, the shutting of the Exchequer, had been perpetrated. Clifford is now known to have been the author and adviser, but as it has often been attributed to Shaftesbury, it is due to him to give his own refutation of that charge in a letter which he wrote to Locke.

A second letter from Shaftesbury, unconnected with the question, and of a later date, has been added as a specimen of his light and playful style of correspondence.

" THESE FOR HIS MUCH-ESTEEMED FRIEND,
JOHN LOCKE, ESQ.

" St. Giles, Nov. 23, 1674.

" MR. LOCKE,

" I write only to you, and not to Mr. Stringer, because you write me word he is ill, for which I am exceedingly sorry, and pray heartily for his recovery, as being very much concerned both in friendship and interest.

" As for Captain Halstead's affair, I have this day received the inclosed letter from him, which, when you have read, you will believe I have reason to desire to be freed from his clamour; therefore, pray speak with him again, and tell him, that Mr. Stringer being sick, I have desired you to appear for me before the referees; and that whatever they shall award, I have given orders to pay my proportion; and that, according to his desire, I have written as effectually as I can to the other Lords, that they would do the same. Pray keep his letter, and let me have it again. I have herewith sent an answer to the Lord Craven, and the rest of the Lords' letters, which I have not sealed that you may read it; when you have read it, you may seal it, if you please.

" Pray speak to South, at the Custom-House, that he would buy me one bushel of the best sort of chestnuts; it is for planting; and send them down by the carrier.

" You guess very right at the design of the pamphlet you sent me; it is certainly designed to throw dirt at me, but is like the great promoters of it, foolish as well as false: it labours only to asperse the original author of the Counsel, which it will have to be one person, and therefore seems to know, and never considers that it is impossible that any statesman should be so mad as to give a counsel of that consequence to a junto or number of men, or to any but the King himself; who, it is not to be imagined, will ever become a witness against any man in such a case, especially when he hath approved the Counsel so far as to continue the stop ever since by a new great seal every year. Besides, I am very well armed to clear myself, for it is not impossible for me to prove what my opinion was of it, when it was first proposed to the Counsel. And if any man consider the circumstance of time when it was done, that it was the prologue of making the Lord Clifford Lord Treasurer; he will not suspect me of the Counsel for that business, unless he thinks me at the same time out of my wits. Besides, if any of the bankers do enquire of the clerks of the Treasury, with whom they are well acquainted, they will find that Sir John Duncome and I were so little satisfied with that way of proceeding, as, from the time of the stop, we instantly quitted all paying and borrowing of money, and the whole transaction of that part of the affair, to the Lord Clifford, by whom from that time forward, it was only managed. I shall not deny but that I knew earlier of the counsel, and foresaw what necessarily must produce it sooner than other men, having the advantage of being more versed in the King's secret affairs; but I hope it will not be expected by any that do in the least know me, that I should have discovered the King's secret, or betrayed his business, whatever my thoughts were of it. This worthy scribbler, if his law be true, or his quotation to the purpose, should have taken notice of the combination of the bankers, who take the protection of the Court, and do not take the remedy of the law against those upon whom they had assignments, by which they might have been enabled to pay their creditors; for it is not to be thought that the King will put a stop to their legal proceedings in a court of justice. Besides, if the writer had been really concerned for the bankers, he would have spoken a little freelier against the continuing of the stop in a time of peace, as well as against the first making of it in a time of war; for, as I remember, there were some reasons offered for the first that had their weight, namely, that the bankers were grown destructive to the nation, especially to the country gentlemen and farmers, and their interest: that under the pretence, and by the advantage of lending the King money upon very great use, they got all the ready money of the kingdom into their hands; so that no gentleman, farmer, or merchant, could, without great difficulty, compass money for their occasions, unless at almost double the rate the law allowed to be taken. That, as to the King's affairs, they were grown to that pass, that twelve in the hundred did not content them; but they bought up all the King's assignment at twenty or thirty per cent. profit, so that the King was at a fifth part loss in all the issue of his whole revenue. Besides, in support of the Counsel, I remember it was alleged by them that favoured it without doors—for I speak only of them—that the King might, without any damage to the subject, or unreasonable oppression upon the bankers, pay them six in the hundred interest during the war, and 300,000*l.* each year of their principal, as soon as there was peace; which, why it is not now done, the learned writer, I believe, hath friends can best tell him. This I write, that you may show my friends or any body else. The messenger staying for me, I have written it in haste, and not kept a copy; therefore, I pray, lose not the letter.

"I am sorry you are like to fare so ill in your place, but you know where your company is ever most desirable and acceptable. Pray let me see you speedily, and I shall be ready to accommodate you in your annuity at seven years' purchase, if you get not elsewhere a better bargain; for I would leave you free from care, and think of living long and at ease. This from,

Dear Sir,

Your truly affectionate friend and servant,

SHAFTESBURY."

London, March 20, $\frac{79}{80}$.

"MR. LOCKE,

"WE long to see you here, and hope you have almost ended your travels. Somersetshire, no doubt, will perfect your breeding; after France and Oxford, you could not go to a more proper place. My wife finds you profit much there, for you have recovered your skill in Chedder cheese, and for a demonstration have sent us one of the best we have seen. I thank you for your care about my grandchild, but, having wearied myself with consideration every way, I resolve to have him in my house; I long to speak with you about it. For news we have little, only our Government here are so truly zealous for the advancement of the Protestant religion, as it is established in the Church of England, that they are sending the Common Prayer-book the second time into Scotland. No doubt but my Lord Lauderdale knows it will agree with their present constitution; but surely he was much mistaken when he administered the Covenant to England; but we shall see how the tripodes and the holy altar will agree. My Lord of Ormond is said to be dying, so that you have Irish and Scotch news; and for English; you make as much at Bristol as in any part of the kingdom. Thus recommending you to the protection of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, (whose strong beer is the only spiritual thing any Somersetshire gentleman knows,) I rest,

Your affectionate and assured friend,

SHAFTESBURY."*

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* There are many letters from Mr. Stringer to Locke, during his absence in France. A few extracts relative to Shaftesbury, &c. are here given. Mr. Stringer was Shaftesbury's attorney and secretary, and lived with him at Exeter or Thanet House. On this account he fell under suspicion, was arrested, and carried before the Privy Council, with all his papers, amongst which was the original draft of the Exclusion bill against the Duke of York, with alterations and corrections in the handwriting of an aspiring lawyer, who now by opposite manœuvres had become the King's attorney-general, and was officially present at poor Stringer's examination. Mr. Attorney, glancing over the papers as they were turned out of the green-bag on the council-board, perceived the well-known draft and the work of his own hand, which had been employed in giving the last polish to that bill. Aware of the danger he himself incurred, with great presence of mind he suggested to the King, that this great mass of papers could be much more carefully and properly examined by dividing the labour amongst different members of the council, and adroitly contrived to include the dreaded draft amongst those papers which he so willingly undertook the task of perusing.

MR. STRINGER TO LOCKE.—Extracts.

"DEAR SIR, London, April 9, 1677.

"I received your letter from Tolouse, and am glad to hear you are so far on your journey towards us. I should be

Anthony Collins gives the following account of that interesting paper, which details the whole proceedings in the House of Lords during the long-contested Bill for imposing what was called the Bishops' test. It is published in Locke's works under the title of A Letter from a Per-

mighty glad all things would so far concur, that we might be so happy to see you perfectly well in England this summer. My Lord is yet in the Tower, with the other three to accompany him; but we expect this week a prorogation, and then the prisoners will be enlarged. There have been great endeavours against our little friend; but the air is now grown very clear, and the season toward the end of a stormy winter puts us in expectation of fair weather at hand. We hear of no other discourses concerning your two other friends, Mr. H. and S.; but that the fine month of April, that gives life and freshness to all other things, will send them out of a dirty stinking air, from ill-meaning, base, and despicable company, into the sweet and pleasant country." * * *

"Our old friend is still in limbo, and now closer confined than ever. Mr. Hoskins, myself, and all but two or three that are necessary to his person, are excluded from seeing him, and for what reason we know not.

"Your affectionate and humble servant,
13th July, 1677. T. Stringer."

"DEAR SIR, Thanet House, Aug. 16, 1677.

"I thank God our friends at the Tower and here, are in very good health; they want nothing but liberty, and that is not like to be had until the next prorogation. His Lordship desires you will get him the best maps of Champaigne son of Quality to his Friend in the Country. By that Bill, entitled "An Act to prevent the dangers which may arise from persons disaffected to the Government," brought in by the Court party in April and May 1675, all such as en-

and Loraigne, Luxemburgh, and the country between the river Sambre and Luxemburgh, because the war in all probability will come there again; and likewise he desires you will enquire and let him know, what books the Dolphin was first initiated in to learn Latin. He apprehends there are some books both Latin and French, and other Janua linguarum or Colloquies, and also he desires to know what grammars; this he conceives may be best learnt from those two printers that printed the Dolphin's books. Having your order, I opened the box of things, and have furnished him with those books you sent over. He has engaged to be very careful in restoring them; and in order thereunto, hath got a box to keep them in, apart from all other things; and it proves a very good entertainment, in this time of close confinement, when his friends are not permitted to see him without particular order under the hand of one of the Secretaries, who are generally very kind, and deny none that ask for leave, as I do hear of. Amongst those books his Lordship finds a printed paper of all the general officers of the King of France, for the year 1675: if there are any such papers printed for the years 1676, 1677, he desires you will give yourself the trouble of sending them unto him.

"Your most affectionate faithful servant,
J. STRINGER."

I have lately had a multitude of business, occasioned by our removal from Exeter House; and the gentleman who has joyed any beneficial office, or employment, civil or military, to which was afterwards added Privy Counsellors, Justices of the Peace, and Members of Parliament, were under a penalty to take the oath, and make the declaration and abhorrence following:

"I, A. B. do declare that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatever, to take up arms against the King; and that I do abhor the traitorous position of taking up arms by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him; and I do swear

taken it is coming to pull it down and rebuild it all into small tenements. My Lord Ashley and his Lady, with their two youngest sons, are gone to Haddon, to spend the remainder of this summer and ensuing winter there, to save charges and gather a good stock, that the next spring they may begin housekeeping at ——. St. Giles being empty, my Lord of Shaftesbury and his Countess are gone thither to visit Mrs. Anthony, who is left to their care and tuition, and a little after Michaelmas they resolve again to come to London.

My Lord begs the kindness that you will deliver the enclosed, wherein is the copy of his note for trees. That which his Lordship desires, is, that you will pay for them and get them packed up and sent to some merchant here in London; and to send me word where it is that you think fit to direct them unto, and also to settle a correspondence with some person there, that my Lord upon any occasion may write to him for more.

that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Government either in Church or State. So help me God."

Such of the Lords as had no dependance upon the Court, and were distinguished by the name of the Country Lords, looked upon this bill as a step the Court was making to introduce arbitrary power, and they opposed it so vigorously, that the debate lasted five several days before it was committed to a Committee of the whole House, and afterwards it took up sixteen or seventeen whole days, the house sitting many times till eight or nine of the clock at night, and sometimes till midnight. However, after several alterations, which they were forced to make, it passed the Committee, but, a contest arising between the two Houses concerning their privileges, they were so inflamed against each other, that the King thought it advisable to prorogue the Parliament, so the Bill was never reported from the Committee to the House.

The debates occasioned by that bill failed not to make a great noise throughout the whole kingdom; and because there were very few persons duly apprised thereof, and every body spoke of it as they stood affected, my Lord Shaftesbury, who was at the head of the Country party, thought it necessary to publish an account of every thing that had passed upon that occasion, in order not only to open the people's eyes upon the secret views of the Court, but to do justice to the Country Lords, and thereby to secure to them the continuance of the affection and attachment of such as were of the same opinion with themselves, which was the most considerable part of the nation. But though this Lord had all the faculties of an orator, yet not having time to exercise himself in the art of writing, he desired Mr. Locke to draw up the relation, which he did under his Lordship's inspection, and only committed to writing what my Lord Shaftesbury did in a manner dictate to him: accordingly, you will find in it a great many strokes which could proceed from nobody but my Lord Shaftesbury himself; and amongst others, the characters and eulogiums of such Lords as had signalised themselves in the cause of public liberty.

The letter was privately printed soon afterwards; and the Court was so incensed at it, that at the next meeting of Parliament, towards the end of the year 1675, the Court party, who still kept the ascendant in the House of Lords, ordered it to be burned by the common hangman. "The particular relation of the debate," says the ingenious Mr. Marvel, "which lasted many days with great eagerness on both sides, and the reasons but on one, was, in the next sessions, burnt by order of the Lords, but the sparks of it will eternally fly in their adversaries' faces."

The following letter, in Locke's handwriting, indorsed Charles II. to Sir George Downing, was probably procured from Lord Shaftesbury.

"White Hall, Jan. 16, O. S. 167½.

"SIR GEORGE DOWNING.

"I have seen all the letters to my Lord Arlington since your arrival in Holland, and because I find you sometimes divided in your opinion betwixt what seems good to you for my affairs in the various emergencies and appearances there, and what my instructions direct you, that you may not err in the future, I have thought fit to send you my last mind upon the hinge of the whole negotiation, and in my own hand, that you may likewise know it is your part to obey punctually my orders, instead of putting yourself to the trouble of finding reasons why you do not do so, as I find in your last of the 12th current. And first you must know I am entirely secure that France will join with me against Holland, and not separate from me for any offers Holland can make to them; next, I do allow of your transmitting to me the States' answer to your Memorial concerning the flags, and that you stay there expecting my last resolution upon it, declaring that you cannot proceed to any new matter till you receive it; but upon the whole matter, you must always know my mind and resolution is, not only to insist upon the having my flag saluted even on their very shores, (as it was always practised,) but in having my dominion of the seas asserted, and Van Guent exemplarily punished. Notwithstanding all this, I would have you use your skill so to amuse them that they may not finally despair of me, and thereby give me time to make myself more ready, and leave them more remiss in their preparations. In the last place, I must again enjoin you to spare no cost in informing yourself exactly how ready their ships of war are in all their ports, how soon they are like to put to sea, and to send what you learn of this kind hither with all speed.

"I am, your loving friend.

CHARLES R."

It appears that the asthmatic complaint with which Locke was afflicted during nearly the last thirty years of his life, began to show itself at least as early as 1671. We find from the following letter to Dr. Mappletoft, that a residence in the South of France was at that time in contemplation; but whether Locke actually went to reside in France for the benefit of his health before 1675 is uncertain. Monsieur Le Clerc says, that he attended the Earl of Northumberland to Paris in 1668, and returned after a short time in consequence of the Earl's death.

LOCKE TO DR. MAPPLETOFT.

Sutton, Oct. 7, 71.

"DEAR SIR,

"THOUGH before the receipt of your last letter (which, by my slow progress hither, I overtook not till this night,) I was very well assured of your friendship, yet the concernment you express for my health, and the kindness wherewith you press my journey into France, give me fresh and obliging testimonies of it. This is so far from an offence against decorum, or needing an apology on that score, that I think the harder you ask for it is the only thing I ought to take amiss from you, if I could take amiss any thing from one who treats me with so much kindness and so much sincerity. I am now making haste back again to London, to return you my thanks for this and several other favours; and then having made you judge of my state of health, desire your advice what you think best to be done; wherein you are to deal with me with the same freedom, since nothing will be able to make me leave those friends I have in England but the positive direction of some of those friends for my going. But however I dispose of myself, I shall dwell amidst the marks of your kindness, and shall enjoy the air of Hampstead Heath or Montpellier as that wherein your care and friendship hath placed me, and my health will not be less welcome to me when it comes by your advice, and brings with it the hopes that I may have longer time in the world to assure you with what affection and sincerity I am,

Sir, your most humble servant,
And faithful friend,
J. LOCKE."

"To his much honoured friend
Dr. John Mappletoft, at Mr.
Trimmer's, over against the
George, Lombard Street,
London."

"Paris, 22d June, 77.

"I arrived here about the beginning of the month with the remains of a very untoward ague upon me, which seized and kept me awhile upon the way, but I thank God have now pretty well recovered my strength, so that if you have any commands for me here, I might hope to execute them; but I have little expectation of any from you, that when you were here yourself and breathed the air of this place, which seems to me not very much to favour the severer sects of philosophers, were yet so great a one as to provide for all your necessities with only a crown or two, will not, I guess, now that you are out of the sight of all our gaudy fashionable temptations, have much employment for a factor here; but yet if either absence (which sometimes increases our desires) or love (which we see every day produces strange effects in the world) have softened you, or disposed you towards any liking of any of our fine new things, 'tis but saying so, and I am ready to furnish you, and should be sorry not to be employed. Were I to advise, perhaps I should say to you, that the lodging at Gresham College were a very quiet and comfortable habitation. I know not how I am got into this chapter of love, unless the genius of the place inspires me with it, for I do not find that my ague has much inclined me to the thought of it. My health, which you are so kind to in your wishes, is the only mistress I have a long time courted, and is so coy a one, that I think it will take up the remainder of my days to obtain her good graces and keep her in good humour. She has of late been very wayward, but I hope is now coming about again. I should be glad that my constant addresses should at last prevail with her, that I might be in a better condition and enjoy and serve you. Being with all sincerity,

Dear Sir,
Your most humble servant,
J. LOCKE."

"My service, I beseech you, to all my friends in your walks, particularly Dr. Sydenham: the spell held till I had left Montpellier, for by all the art and industry I could use, I could not get a book of his to Montpellier till the week after I had left it. I shall be glad to hear that it every day gains ground, though that be not always the fate of useful truth, especially at first setting out. I shall perhaps be able to give him an account of what some ingenious men think of it here: though I imagine he is too well satisfied with the truth in it, and the design that made him publish it, that he matters not much what men think, yet there is usually a very great and allowable pleasure to see the tree take and thrive in our time which we ourselves have planted."

"Lyon, 8 November, 78.

"DEAR SIR,

"IF all the world should go to Rome, I think I should never, having been twice firmly bent upon it, the time set, the company agreed, and as many times defeated. I came hither in all haste from Montpellier (from whence I write to you) with the same design; but old Father Winter, armed with all his snow and icicles, keeps guard on Mount Cenis, and will not let me pass. But since I cannot get over the hill, I desire your letters may not: they may now keep their old road to M. Charas's, where I hope in a few days to see and be acquainted with your friend Dr. Badgen; and so having seen the winter over at Paris, return to you early in the spring. Were I not accustomed to have Fortune to dispose of me contrary to my design and expectation, I should be very angry to be thus turned out of my way, when I imagined myself almost at the suburbs of Rome, and made sure in a few days to mount the capitol and trace the footsteps of the Scipios and the Cæsars; but I am made to know that 'tis a bold thing to be projecting of things for to-morrow, and that it is fit such a slight bubble as I am should let itself be carried at the fancy of wind and tide, without pretending to direct its own motion. I think I shall learn to do so hereafter,—this is the surest way to be at ease. But hold, I forget you have quitted Galen for Plutarch, and 'tis a little too confident to talk philosophy to one who converses daily with Xenophon. I cannot tell how to blame your design, but I must confess to you I like our calling the worse since you have quitted it: yet I hope it is not to make way for another with more indissoluble chains, with greater cares and solicitudes accompanying it. If it be so, you need be well prepared with philosophy, and may find it necessary sometime to take a dram of *Tully de consolatione.* I cannot forbear to touch, *en passant,* the chapter of matrimony, which methinks you are still hankering after; but if ever you should chance so to be given up as to marry, and like other loving husbands tell your wife who has dissuaded you, what a case shall I be in! All my comfort is that 'tis no personal malice to the woman, and I am sure I have nothing but friendship for you, for I am with sincerity,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

J. LOCKE."

"To Dr. John Mappletoft."

In 1675, Locke went to reside in France for the benefit of his health, and, from the time of his landing at Calais, he kept a daily Journal, from which the following extracts have been made. The original contains a description of the country, and of such things as were best worth seeing in the different towns of France. It describes with much minuteness and accuracy the cultivation of the vine and olive country, the different processes of the fermentation of wine, and of preparing the oils, and the different sorts of fruit there in highest estimation. It gives an account of mechanical and other contrivances, and objects of use and convenience, then more common in France than in England. There are also many medical observations, many notes and references to books, which it has been thought proper for the sake of brevity to omit. For the same reason, the first part only of the Journal has been printed verbatim: it has afterwards been much curtailed, and the notes and dissertations on different subjects, interspersed in different parts, are collected together in a connected form at the end of these extracts. In general, the particulars which have been selected from the Journal are such as are either curious and interesting, as records of former times, or as they afford a contrast between the present prosperous state of France and its former condition; where the extremes of splendour and misery marked the nature of the old and despotic Government, the paradise of monarchs and courtiers, but the purgatory of honest and industrious citizens and peasants, whom French lawyers were pleased to describe, and French nobles to treat, as "tailleable et corvéable" animals, who lived, and moved, and had their beings only for the benefit of the privileged orders.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL.*

THE way from Boulogne is made up of hills and plains, covered with corn or woods; in the latter we looked out for our friends of St. Omer's, but the Dons were afraid of the French or of us, (I do not imagine they had any aversion to our money,) and so we saw no more whiskers. After this, those that had money thought it their own, and believed their clothes might last them to Paris, where the tailors lie in wait: and I know not whether they with their yards and shears, or the trooper with his sword and pistol, be the more dangerous creature. We marched on merrily the remainder of the day to Montreuil; supper was ready before our boots were off, and, being fish, as soon digested.

DEC. 1. Early on a frosty morning we were, with all the train, on our march to Abbeville, ten leagues: it is a large town on the Amiens river: here his Excellency dismissed his St. Omer's trumpeter.

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* The Journal begins 30th November, 1675.

2nd. The Ambassador resolving to go by Amiens, our governor, the messenger, resolved to take the ordinary road by Poy, which we, who went to seek adventure beyond Paris, easily consented to. We therefore plodded on nine leagues to Poy; we were no sooner got into our chambers, but we thought we were come there too soon, as the highway seemed the cleaner and more desirable place. It being decreed we must stay there all night, I called, entreated, and swaggered a good while for a pair of slippers; at last they brought them, and I sat me down on the only seat we had in our apartment, which at present was a form, but had formerly been a wooden-horse: I thought to ease myself by standing, but with no very good success, I assure you; for the soles of my pantofles being sturdy timber, had very little compliance for my feet, and so made it somewhat uncomfortable to keep myself, as the French call it, on one end. This small taste of sabot gave me a surfeit of them, and I should not make choice of a country to pass my pilgrimage in where they are in fashion: as we had but two pair between three of us, there could not be a nicer case in breeding than to know whether to take, offer, or refuse their use. Many compliments, I assure you, passed on the occasion; we shuffled favour, obligation, and honour, and many such words, (very useful in travelling,) forward and backward until supper came; here we thought to divert our pain, but we quickly found a supper of ill meat, and worse cooking: soup and ragout, and such other words of good savour, lost here their relish quite, and out of five or six dishes, we patched up a very uncomfortable supper. But be it as rascally as it was, it must not fail to be fashionable; we had the ceremony of first and second course, and a dessert at the close: whatever the fare, the treat must be in all its formality, with some haws, if no better, under the fine name of Pomet de Paradise. After supper, we retreated to the place that usually gives relief to all moderate calamities, but our beds were antidotes to sleep: I do not complain of the hardness, but the tangible quality of what was next me, and the savour of all about made me quite forget both slippers and supper. As we had a long journey of twelve leagues to go next day, our stay was fortunately short here: we were roused before day, and all were glad to be released from the prison; we willingly left it to the miserable souls who were to succeed us. If Paris be heaven, (for the French, with their usual justice, extol it above all things on earth,) Poy certainly is Purgatory in the way to it.

3rd. We dined at Beauvais, where I saw nothing remarkable except the quire of a church, very high and stately, built, as they say, by the English, who, it seems, had not time to complete the whole, and the French have never thought fit to finish it. If the nave of the church were added, it would be a magnificent structure. As far as I have observed of the churches of both countries, to make them in every way exact, we ought to build, and they to adorn them. Hence, we went three leagues to Tilliard to bed. Good mutton, and a good supper, clean linen of the country, and a pretty girl to lay it, (who was an angel compared with the fiends at Poy,) made us some amends for the past night's suffering. Do not wonder that a man of my constitution and gravity mentions to you a handsome face amongst his remarks, for I imagine that a traveller, though he carry a cough with him, goes not out of his way when he takes notice of strange and extraordinary things.

4th. We dined at Beaumont. This being the last assembly we were like to have of our company, 'twas thought convenient here to even some small account had happened upon the road: one of the Frenchmen, who had disbursed for our troop, was, by the natural quickness of his temper, carried beyond the mark, and demanded for our shares more than we thought due. Whereupon, one of the English desired an account of particulars, not that the whole was so considerable, but to keep a certain custom we had in England, not to pay money without knowing for what. Monsieur answered briskly, he would give no account; the other as briskly, that he would have it: this produced a reckoning of the several disbursements, and an abatement of one-fourth of the demand, and a great demonstration of good nature. Monsieur steward showed afterwards more civility and good nature, after the little contest, than he had done all the journey before.

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Thus, in seven days, we came from Paris to Lyons, 100 leagues; the passage to Chalons was troublesome; from Chalons by water was very easy and convenient, and the river quiet.

21st. Lyons.—We visited Mr. Charleton, who treated us extreme civilly. They showed us, upon the top of the hill, a church, now dedicated to the Virgin, which was formerly a Temple of Venus: near it dwelt Thomas Becket, when banished from England.

22nd. We saw the Jesuits' College; a large quadrangle, surrounded by high buildings, having the walls covered with pretty well-painted figures. The library is the best that ever I saw, except Oxford, being one very high oblong square, with a gallery round to come at the books; it is yet but moderately furnished with books, being made, as they told us, not above a year. The College is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Rhone, and hath a very excellent prospect. Saw M. Servis's museum of pumps, clocks, and curiosities.

23rd. Saw St. John's Church, the cathedral, a very plain, ordinary building, nothing very observable but the clock, which they say cost 20,000 livres: at every hour, the image of an old man, designed for the Father, shakes his hand; this is what is most looked at, but of least moment, there being other things far more considerable; as the place of the sun, dominical letter, Epact, moveable feasts, and other things of an almanack, for almost a hundred years to come.

24th. I saw a little Castle, called Pierre en Cise, upon the river Soane, at the entrance into the town. It is a place used to keep prisoners; indeed, it is much better fitted to keep criminals in, than enemies out. It is a little, irregular fortification on a rock, which hath a precipice on all sides, and is high towards the river, and two other sides, but commanded by hills much higher; here Fouquet was once prisoner. Here the hill on the left-hand turns short towards the Rhone, and leaves a long plain neck of land between the two rivers, on which the greatest part of Lyons is built, in narrow, irregular streets; stone houses, flat-roofed, covered with pantiles, and some turrets, and the angle of the roofs with tin. A good part of the town lies also on the right-hand of the Soane; and the sides of the hills are covered with houses, gardens, and vineyards, so that it is a pleasant place. The town-house is a stately building.

25th. Saw a fine fair prospect of the town from the hills on the north side. The Hotel Dieu, a fair large hospital, containing, as they told me, five hundred sick persons: they lie in a room which is a large cross, and three rows of beds in each: two of the arms of the cross have men, and two women; in the centre is an altar.

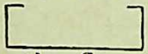
26th. I saw the Charité, consisting of nine square courts, and there are in them 1500, as I am told, maintained and lodged here. They receive bastards, and, as soon as they are able, employ them in winding silk, the manner whereof, it being holiday, we could not see. The most considerable thing we saw was their granary, one hundred steps long, and thirty-six broad, windows open all round: there are constantly in it 6000 asnees of wheat,—one asnee is an ass load of six bushels. They turn the corn every day, about which seven men are employed; when the boys are grown up, they bind them out to traders. It is a noble foundation, and has a large revenue.

27th. By the old town of Vienne to St. Vallier, through a pleasant valley of the Rhone, with mulberry and walnut trees set in exact quincunx at the distance of our apple trees in England.

28th. To Valence, seven leagues. Pretty large town, ill-built; the cathedral the plainest I had any where seen. The Scola Juris et Medicinæ here very mean. As we came along, we passed by the Hermitage, the place so famous for wine; it is on the side of a hill open to the south, and a little west, about a mile long, beginning just at Thuin. We also saw the citadel, which we got into with some difficulty; and there was reason for the caution, we being four, and there being a garrison in it of but one man and one great gun, which was left behind (when the King lately took away all the rest for his ships) for a fault very frequent in this country, viz. in the touch-hole.

29th. Montelimart. Streets broad and buildings better, though not altogether so big as Valence.

30th. To Pont St. Esprit, five leagues. To this place we had the Rhone on our right-hand, and the high barren hills of Dauphiné on the left. The valley is in some places a league or two broad; in some broader, and in some very narrow. In great part of the journey from Lyons, the soil was covered with great round pebbles, in some places so thick that no earth was seen, and yet all along the corn was sown. In many places the mulberry trees and almonds, set in quincunx, covered the corn as thick as apple-trees in an orchard in England. We saw several digging the ground, and some ploughing, with a very little light plough with one handle, drawn by a pair of cows, steers, or asses. The soil very light and sandy; they turn it up not above two or three inches deep. In this valley we crossed many rivers and rivulets; one by ferry, some by bridges and fords, and the channels of some quite dry; but all appeared to be sometimes great and swift torrents, when either rain or melteds now is poured down into them from the high hills of Dauphiné. About half a league from St. Vallier, we saw a house, a little out of the way, where they say Pilate lived in banishment. We met with the owner, who seemed to doubt the truth of the story; but told us there was Mosaic work very ancient in one of the floors. At Chateau Neuf, we got up a hill which runs directly to the Rhone, and the Rhone through it, as the Avon at the Hot Wells. Much box and lavender: a prospect of a large valley much broader than any part between Vienne and Chateau Neuf. Three leagues to Pallu, a little town belonging to the Pope. One league from hence, we came to Pont St. Esprit, a bridge over the Rhone, on eighteen great arches, 1100 of my steps; the ascent to the top one hundred and twenty steps, over six lesser arches on the east side: they reckon twenty-seven arches in all, besides a little one between each of the eighteen great arches. The bridge is very narrow, paved with little square stones very regularly placed; at the end of it, on the west side, is the town of St. Esprit, and a citadel; in it we saw some soldiers, and a few unmounted small brass guns. The bridge is not exactly straight, but about the middle makes an obtuse angle towards the current of the river.

Three leagues from Pont St. Esprit, we came to Orange, a little town within a square wall, less than Bath within the walls. The half-moons at the entrance of the gate are demolished by the King of France, and the castles, which were upon a rocky hill just over it. Here we also saw Marius's triumphal arch, a piece of very handsome building with trophies and Marius's old sibyl on it. There remains also a very stately piece of Roman building, very high, and one hundred and seventy-six of my steps in front, on seventeen arches: they call it an amphitheatre; but the figure of it seems not at all to favour that opinion, being thus  as it now stands. There is also in the floor of a little house, mosaic work very perfect; there was but one figure, which was of a cat. Here I also saw the way of winding silk by an engine, that turns at once one hundred and thirty-four bobbins; it is too intricate to be described on so short a view; but all these were turned by one woman, and they both twisted and wound off the silk at once. The proportion of population of the town, are twelve Protestants to nine Papists; two Protestant and two Papist consuls; two Protestant churches in the town; one we were in is a pretty sort of building, one stone arch, like a bridge, running the whole length of the church, and supporting the rafters, like the main beam of the building; a new but not incommodious way for such a room.

31st. Avignon, four leagues, situated in a large valley on the banks of the Rhone, which goes about half round it; the walls are all entire, and no house near them; battlements and towers at little distances, after the old way of fortification: the streets wider, and the town better built than any between this and Lyons. The Pope's palace, a large old building with high towers; we saw, besides the hall, three or four rooms hung with damask, and in another part of the Palace a large handsome room, where the conclave formerly was kept when the Pope resided here.

Jan. 1st, 1676. The quire of St. Peter's church very rich in gilding and painting, as is the altar of the Celestins; their convent, a very large one, kept very clean. The Vice-Legate went to the Jesuits' church with a guard of about twelve Swiss. The Jews have a quarter to themselves, where they have a synagogue; they wear yellow hats for distinction. Here are some arches standing of a bridge, much after the fashion of Pont St. Esprit; it fell down some years since, and to encourage the rebuilding of it, they have the last year set up the statue of one St. Benedict, a shepherd, who built the former bridge. The Rhone, in November 1674, rose fifteen feet higher than the top of the water as it now is; we saw marks of the inundation far from the river. Avignon is governed by a Vice-Legate; the employment is worth about 5,000*l.* sterling. There is no tax laid upon the country, which is long and broad; the greatest part of the trade is silk, and the people look comfortable and thriving. We paid one livre per meal for each of us, and one livre per night per horse.

2nd. We passed the Rhone partly by the trill, a way of ferry usual in these parts, and partly by the remains of the bridge. Our portmanteaus were not searched as we expected; our voiturin made us pass for Swiss. Hence we went to Pont du Gard, an admirable structure; some of the arches of the second row were thirty steps wide. Saw them preparing their vines; some pruned.

3rd. To Nismes. Here we saw the amphitheatre, an admirable structure of very large stones, built apparently without mortar: at the entrance, which is under an arch, the wall is seventeen paces thick; ascending the stairs, we come to a walk, in which there are towards the outside sixty arches in the whole circumference, the space of each arch being eleven of my paces, 660 of my steps in a circle two or three yards inside the outmost bounds of it. In all those arches, to support the walls over the passage where you go round, there is a stone laid, about twenty inches or two feet square, and about six times the length of my sword, which was near about a philosophical yard long; upon which were turned other arches contrary to those by which the light entered; most of these stones I observed to be cracked, which I suppose might be the effect of the fire which Deyron tells us, in his "Antiquités de Nismes," the Christians heretofore applied, with design to destroy this amphitheatre. It would hold 20,000 persons, and was built by Antoninus Pius, of great squared stones, almost as hard as grey marble. Thus stands, almost entire yet, this wonderful structure, in spite of the force of 1,500 years, and the attempts of the first Christians, who, both by fire and with tools, endeavoured to ruin it. There are many other antiquities in this town. For the use of Nismes, the Pont du

Gard was built over the river Gardon, on three rows of arches, one over the other; it carried the water of the fountain d'Aure to Nismes, from whence it is three leagues; but the aqueduct, sometimes carried on arches, sometimes cut through rocks, is four leagues long.

The Protestants at Nismes have now but one temple, the other being pulled down by the King's order about four years since. Two of their consuls are Papists, and two Protestants, but are not permitted to receive the sacrament in their robes as formerly. The Protestants had built themselves an hospital for their sick, but that is taken from them: a chamber in it is left for their sick, but never used, because the Priests trouble them when there; but notwithstanding their discouragement, I do not find that many of them go over: one of them told me, when I asked him the question, that the Papists did nothing but by force or money.

4th. We arrived at Montpellier late in the night, having dined at a Protestant inn, at Lunel, three leagues from Montpellier, where we were well used. We paid our voiturin twelve crowns a-piece from Lyons hither; when we went out of the way, we were to pay for our own and the horses' meat, fifteen sous dinner, twenty-five supper, (for all the company eat together,) and fifteen sous horse-meat a night.

8th. I walked, and found them gathering of olives, a black fruit, the bigness of an acorn, with which the trees were thick hung.

All the highways are filled with gamesters at mall, so that walkers are in some danger of knocks.

9th. I walked to a fine garden, a little mile from the town; the walks were bays and some others, cypress-trees of great height and some pine-trees: at the entrance there is a fair large pond, where it is said the ladies bathe in summer, and, if the weather of midsummer answer the warmth of this day, the ladies will certainly need a cooler. Furniture of the kitchens, some pewter, some brass, and abundance of pipkins. All the world at mall, and the mountebank's tricks.

13th. Several asses and mules laden with green brushwood, of evergreen oak and bays, brought to town for fuel; most of their labour done by mules and asses. Between Lyons and Vienne we met people riding post on asses; and on the road we met several mules, some whereof we were told had 800 weight upon them, and several women riding astride, some with caps and feathers: we met more people travelling between Lyons and Montpellier by much, than between Paris and Lyons, where were very few.

14th. The women carrying earth in little baskets on their heads, running in their sabots as they returned for new burthens. Wages for men twelve sous, for women five sous, at this time; in summer, about harvest, eighteen for men, and seven for women.

18th. About nine in the morning, I went to the town-house, where the States of Languedoc, which were then assembled in the town, used to sit every day. The room is a fair room; at the upper end, in the middle, is a seat, higher somewhat than the rest, where the Duc de Vernule, governor of the Province, sits, when he comes to the assembly, which is but seldom, and only upon occasions of proposing something to them. At other times, Cardinal Bonzi, who is Archbishop of Narbonne, takes that seat which is under the canopy; on the right-hand sit the bishops, twenty-two, and the barons, twenty-five; the deputies of the town about forty-four. About ten they began to drop into the room, where the bishops put on their habits, richly laced; cardinal in scarlet: when he arrives, away they go to mass at Nôtre Dame, a church just by, and so about eleven they return and begin to sit, and rise again at twelve, seldom sitting in the afternoon, but upon extraordinary occasions: they are constantly assembled four months in the year, beginning in October, and ending in February.

19th. The Physic garden, well contrived for plants of all sorts, open and shady and boggy, set most in high beds, as it were in long stone troughs, with walks between, and numbers in order engraved on the stone, to direct the student to the plant.

[Then follows a long description of the management of a vineyard, which is omitted; description and process of making verdigrise, omitted; description of olive harvest and oil pressing, all of which are omitted.]

Uzes a town in the province, not far from Nismes, was wont to send every year a Protestant Deputy to the Assembly of the States at Montpellier, the greatest part being Protestant; but they were forbid to do it this year; and this week the Protestants have an order from the King to choose no more consuls of the town of their religion, and their temple is ordered to be pulled down, the only one they have left there, though three quarters of the town be Protestants. The pretence given is, that their temple being too near the Papist church, their singing of psalms disturbed the service.

Feb. 1st. Here was in the street a bustle; the cause this, some that were listing soldiers slid money into a countryman's pocket, and then would force him to go with them, having, as they said, received the King's money; he refused to go, and the women, by crowding and force, redeemed him. These artifices are employed where pressing is not allowed; it is a usual trick, if any one drink the King's health, to give him press money, and force him to go a soldier, pretending that having drunk his health, he is bound to fight for him.

Interest by law here is $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. but those who have good credit may borrow at five.

The King has made an edict, that those who merchandize, but do not use the yard, shall not lose their gentility.

Drums beat for soldiers, and five Luis d'or offered to any one that would list himself. Their coin is thus:—

1 pistol Luis d'or.	11 livres
1 ecu.	3 livres.
1 livre.	20 sous.

5th. Sunbeams rather troublesome. A little out of Montpellier, westward, is a bed of oyster-shells, in a hollow way, in some places two yards under the ground; it appeared all along, for a good way; some of the shells perfectly fit one to the other, and dirt in the place where the oysters lay; the place where they lie is much higher than the present level of the sea.

Q.—Have not these been left there by the sea, since retreated?

The Protestants have here common justice generally, unless it be against a new convert, whom they will favour; they pay no more taxes than their neighbours, but are incapable of public charges and offices. They have had, within these ten years at least, 160 churches pulled down. They and the Papist laity live together friendly enough in these parts; they sometimes get, and sometimes lose, proselytes. There is nothing done against those that come over to the reformed religion, unless they be such as have before turned Papists, and relapsed; these sometimes they prosecute. The number of Protestants in these latter years neither increases nor decreases much; those that go over to the Church of Rome are usually drawn away by fair promises, which most commonly fail them: the Protestant live not better than the Papist.

Sent several sorts of vines to England, Muscat, Corinth, Marokin, St. John's, Claret.

They seldom make red wine without the mixture of some sorts of white grapes, else it would be too thick and deep-coloured.

The States every morning go to Nôtre Dame to prayers, where mass is sung; while the priest is at the altar saying the mass, you cannot hear him a word; indeed the music is the pleasanter of the two. The Cardinal and the bishops are all on the right hand of the quire, that is, standing at the altar and looking to the west end of the church; and all the lay barons to the left, or south side: the Cardinal sat nearest the altar, and had a velvet cushion richly laced, the bishops had none: the Cardinal repeated part of the office with an unconcerned look, talking every now and then, and laughing with the bishops next him.

8th. This day the Assembly of the States was dissolved: they have all the solemnity and outward appearance of a Parliament: the King proposes, and they debate and resolve; here is all the difference, that they never do, and some say, dare not, refuse whatever the King demands; they gave the King this year, 2,100,000 livres, and for their liberality are promised no soldiers shall quarter in this country, which nevertheless sometimes happens. When soldiers are sent to quarter in Montpellier, as some Switz did here, that were going towards Catalonia, the magistrates of the town gave them billets, and take care according to the billet that their landlords be paid eight sous per diem for each foot soldier, which is paid by the town. Beside the 2,100,000 given the King for this year, they gave him also for the canal 300,000 livres; and besides all this, they maintain 11,000 men in Catalonia raised and paid by this province. These taxes, and all public charges come sometimes to eight, sometimes to twelve per cent. of the yearly value of estates.

The States being to break up to-day, the ceremony was this: Te Deum was sung in the State-house; and that being done, the Cardinal, with a very good grace, gave the benediction, first putting on his cap; and at the latter end of the benediction he pulled off his cap, made a cross first towards the bishops, then towards the nobility, then straight forward towards the people, who were on their knees.

Mr. Herbert's man enticed into a shop, and there fallen upon by three or four: a man shot dead by another in the street: the same happened at Lyons when I was there.

11th. At the Carmes' church this day was an end of their octave of open house, as one may say, upon the occasion of the canonization of St.

John de Croix, one of their Order lately canonized at Rome, dead eighty years ago. During the eight days of the celebration, there was plenary indulgence over the door, and a pavilion with emblems, and his picture in the middle; this being the close of the solemnity, there was a sermon, which was the recital of his life, virtues, and miracles he did: as preserving his baptismal grace and innocence to the end of his life, his driving out evil spirits of the possessed, &c. Music at the vespers; the Duc de Vernules present; the Duchess and her guard of musketeers with her.

The usual rate of good oil here, is three to four livres a quartal of eight pots.

12th. I visited Mr. Birto. The Protestants have not had a general synod these ten years: a provincial synod of Languedoc they have of course every year, but not without leave from the King, wherein they make ecclesiastical laws for this province, but suitable still to the laws made by the national synod. Their synod consists of about fifty pastors, and as many deacons or elders; they have power to reprehend or wholly displace any scandalous pastor; they also admit people to ordination, and to be pastors in certain churches, nobody being by them admitted into orders that hath not a place.

The manner is this: when any church wants a pastor, as for example, at Montpellier, if any of their four pastors is dead or gone, the candidates apply themselves to the consistory of that church: whom they like best, they appoint to preach before the congregation; if they approve, he presents himself at the next synod, and they appoint four pastors to examine him in the tongues, university learning, and divinity; especially he is to produce the testimonials of the university where he studied, of his life and learning: he preaches a French and Latin sermon, and if all these are passable, they appoint two pastors to ordain him, who, after a sermon on the duties of a minister, come out of the pulpit and read several chapters to him out of the Epistles, wherein the minister's duty is considered; and then, after a prayer, they lay their hands upon him and make a declaration, that by authority of the synod, he has power to preach, to forgive sins, to bless marriages, and to administer the sacrament; after this, he is minister of the place. His allowance depends on the Consistory.

If any one hold tenets here contrary to their articles of faith, the King punishes him; so that you must here be either of the Romish or of their church. Not long since, it happened to one here, who was inclining to, and vented some Arian doctrines, the Governor complained to the King; he sent order that he should be tried, and so was sent to Thoulose, where upon trial, he denying it utterly, he was permitted to escape out of prison; but had he owned it, he had been burnt as an heretic.

The State have given 400,000 livres for each of the next four years, having given 300,000 for the last six years, in all 3,400,000 for carrying on the canal, besides other taxes toward the war. Montpellier has 30,000 people in it, of whom there are 8000 communicants of the Protestant church. They tell me the number of Protestants within the last twenty or thirty years has manifestly increased here, and does daily, notwithstanding their loss every day of some privilege or other. Their consistories had power formerly to examine witnesses upon oath, which within these ten years has been taken from them.

Parasols, a pretty sort of cover for women riding in the sun, made of straw, something like the fashion of tin covers for dishes.

The Deputies of the State are all paid by their respective towns and countries fifty ecus per month, but the Bishops and Barons receive it not: of the twenty-two Bishops, seventeen have revenues, about 3,000*l.* sterling; the other five much more.

15th. Bought of a Genoese twelve orange and citron trees, at one livre a-piece.

All the power of church discipline is in the Consistory; that of Montpellier consists of their four pastors, and twenty-four anciens; these, by a majority of votes, order all the church affairs, public stock, censures, &c.; the majority of votes determines the matter, though there be no one of the pastors of that side. If there is any controversy of law amongst them, they refer it to some of the sober gentry of the town and lawyers that are Protestants; they have still six counsellors of their religion, and the advocates may be of what religion they please.

The Church censures are managed thus: if any one live scandalously, they first reprove him in private; if he mends not, he is called before the Consistory, and admonished; if that works not, the same is done in the public congregation; if after all he stands incorrigible, he is excluded from the Eucharist.

18th. Shrove-day, the height and consummation of the Carnival: the town filled with masquerades for the last week; dancing in the streets in all manner of habits and disguises, to all sorts of music, brass kettles and frying pans not excepted.

Grana kermes grow on a shrub of the size of the chene vert, called ilex coccifera, are a sort of oak apples with little insects in them.

Sent by Mr. Waldo seeds for England.

19th. Ash Wednesday. Public admonitions happen seldom: the last instances were, one for striking a cuff on the ear in the church, on a communion-day, for which he was hindered from receiving; the other for marrying his daughter to a Papist, for which he stood excommunicated six months. It reaches no farther than exclusion from the Eucharist, not from church or sermons.

[Here follow accurate notes of weights and measures. A detailed account of the Church of France, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbés, &c. their revenue is estimated *in toto* at twenty-four millions sterling.]

21st. The King has made a law that persons of different religion shall not marry, which often causes the change of religion, especially *sequioris sexus.*

At church to-day abundance of coughing.

24th. The Province of Languedoc is thus governed: the Duke of Vernule, the Governor, commands over the whole Province, and has a power somewhat like the King's, though he be more properly Lord Lieutenant. I do not hear that he meddles at all in judicial causes, either civil or criminal: in his absence, the Province is divided into three districts, each having a Deputy-governor with the same power; every city also has its governor, whose power is much like the governor of a garrison. Montpellier has six Consuls, who have the government of the police of the town, look after weights and measures, determine causes under five livres; they had formerly a considerable authority, but now they are little more than servants of the governor of the town; they were formerly three Protestants and three Papists, but the Protestants are excluded the last year.

The civil causes are judged by the Court of Aides; the premier president, and eight presidents, and thirty counsellors; the cause determined by plurality of votes.

[Then follows an account of the several criminal courts, and of the taxes.]

From these taxes are exempted all noble land, which is to pay a year's value to the King every twenty years; but as they order the matter, they pay not above three-quarters of a year's value. All ancient privileged land of the Church is also exempt, but if any is given to the Church that hath been used to pay taxes, it pays it after the donation: besides this, excise is paid on several commodities.

25th. Very high wind.

OBLIGATION OF PENAL LAWS.

There are virtues and vices antecedent to, and abstract from, society, as love of God, unnatural lust: other virtues and vices there are which suppose society and laws, as obedience to magistrates, or dispossessing a man of his heritage; in both these the rule and obligation is antecedent to human laws, though the matter about which that rule is, may be consequent to them, as property in land, distinction, and power of persons. All things not commanded, or forbidden by the law of God, are indifferent, nor is it in the power of man to alter their nature; and so no human law can lay any obligation on the conscience, and therefore all human laws are purely penal, i. e. have no other obligation but to make the transgressors liable to punishment in this life. All divine laws oblige the conscience, i. e. render the transgressors liable to answer at God's tribunal, and receive punishment at his hands; but because very frequently both these obligations concur, the same action comes to be commanded or forbidden by both laws together, and so in these cases men's consciences are obliged. Men have thought that civil laws oblige their consciences to entire obedience; whereas, in things in their own nature indifferent, the conscience is obliged only to active or passive obedience, and that not by virtue of that human law which the man either practises or is punished by, but by that law of God which forbids disturbance or dissolution of governments. The Gospel alters not in the least civil affairs, but leaves husband and wife, master and servant, magistrate and subject, every one of them, with the same power and privileges that it found them, neither more nor less; and therefore, when the New Testament says, obey your superiors in all things, it cannot be thought that it laid any new obligation upon the Christians after their conversion, other than what they were under before; nor that the magistrate had any other extent of jurisdiction over them than over his heathen subjects: so that the magistrate has the same power still over his Christian as he had over his heathen subjects; so that, where he had power to command, they had still, notwithstanding the liberty and privileges of the Gospel, obligations to obey.

Now, amongst heathen politics, (which cannot be supposed to be instituted by God for the preservation and propagation of true religion,) there can be no other end assigned, but the preservation of the members of that society in peace and safety together: this being found to be the end, will give us the rule of civil obedience. For if the end of civil society be civil peace, the immediate obligation of every subject must be to preserve that society or government which was ordained to produce it; and no member of any society can possibly have any obligation of conscience beyond this. So that he that obeys the magistrate to the degree, as not to endanger or disturb the government, under what form of government soever he live, fulfilling all the law of God concerning government, i. e. obeys to the utmost that the magistrate or society can oblige his conscience, which can be supposed to have no other rule set it by God but this. The end of the institution being always the measure of the obligation of conscience then upon every subject, being to preserve the government, 'tis plain, that where any law is made with a penalty, is submitted to, i. e. the penalty is quietly undergone, the government cannot be disturbed or endangered; for whilst the magistrate has power to increase the penalty, even to the loss of life, and the subject submits patiently to the penalty, which he is in conscience obliged to do, the government can never be in danger, nor can the public want active obedience in any case where it hath power to require it under pain of death; for no man can be supposed to refuse his active obedience in a lawful or indifferent thing, when the refusal will cost him his life, and lose all his civil rights at once, for want of performing one civil action; for civil laws have only to do with civil actions.

This, thus stated, clears a man from that infinite number of sins that otherwise he must unavoidably be guilty of, if all penal laws oblige the conscience farther than this. One thing farther is to be considered, that all human laws are penal, for where the penalty is not expressed, it is by the judge to be proportioned to the consequence and circumstance of the fault. See the practice of the King's Bench. Penalties are so necessary to civil laws, that God found it necessary to annex them even to the civil laws he gave the Jews.

29th. The goodness of Muscat wine to drink depends on two causes, besides the pressing and ordering the fermentation; one is the soil they plant in, on which very much depends the goodness of the wine; and it is a constant rule, setting aside all other qualities of the soil, that the vineyard must have an opening towards the east or south, or else no good is to be expected. The other is a mingling of good sorts of vines in their vineyards. [Then follow description of planting vineyards, manuring them: the same then of olives.]

MAR. 3rd. At the physical school, a scholar answering the first time, a professor moderating, six other professors oppose, with great violence of Latin, French, grimace, and hand.

5th. To Frontignan, thence to port Cette. The mole at Cette is a mighty work, and far advanced; but the sand in the port now, and the breach made in the mole last winter, show how hard one defends a place against Neptune, which he attacks with great and small shot too. To the hot-baths at Balaruc. Return to Montpellier.

18th. The manner of making a doctor of physic was this: the procession, in scarlet robes, and black caps; the professor took his seat, and after a company of fiddlers had played a certain time, he made them a sign to hold, that he might have an opportunity to entertain the company, which he did with a speech against innovation: the musicians then took their turn.

The inceptor then began his speech, wherein I found little edification, being designed to compliment the chancellor and professors who were present; the doctor then put on his head the cap, that had marched in on the beadle's staff, in sign of his doctorship, put a ring on his finger, girt himself about the loins with a gold chain, made him sit down by him; that, having taken pains, he might now take ease, and kissed and embraced him, in token of the friendship that ought to be amongst them.

Monsieur Renaie, a gentleman of the town, in whose house Sir J. Rushworth lay, about four years ago, sacrificed a child to the devil—a child of a servant of his own, upon a design to get the devil to be his friend, and help him to get some money. Several murders committed here since I came, and more attempted; one by a brother on his sister, in the house where I lay.

22nd. The new philosophy of Des Cartes prohibited to be taught in universities, schools, and academies.

24th. Dined at Lunel. To Aigues Mortes. The sea formerly washed the walls, but is now removed a league from the town; there remains only a little étang navigable for very little boats. In the walls on the south side the gates are walled up; there are some iron rings yet remaining, and the sign of others that were fastened in the walls to secure the vessels to. The town, said to have been built by St. Louis, laid out very regularly; the Constance's Tower more ancient. The country round, a great plain for many leagues about, very much covered with water. Nigh the town, is the Marquis de Vard's house, who is governor of the town and country about half a league about, as far as the tower la Carbonier. Passing between la Carbonier and the town, we saw abundance of partridges, hares, and other game, preserved there by the strict order and severity of the Marquis de Vard, who, not long since, clapped a townsman up in a little hole in Constance Tower, where he had just room to stand upright, but could not sit nor lie down, and kept him there three days, for committing some small trespass on his game. The hedges in this country are all tamerisk.

At Picais is made all the salt that is used in this part of France: the manner is this; a great square pond, divided into squares by little banks, with channels between each to bring in the salt water, which is raised from the étang by wheels, with wooden buckets. They cover the squares or tables, as they call them, five or six inches deep; and when the sun has exhaled almost all the moisture, they supply it with more salt-water, and so continue all the heat of the year: at the latter end, they have a cake of salt four or five inches thick, according to the heat and drought of the year. They that are owners of the soil, are at the charge of making the salt, and sell it to the farmers for five sous the minòt; a measure of seven inches deep, and twenty-three and a half diam. weighs one hundred and twenty pounds. The salt which the owner sells for five sous, the farmer sells again for sixteen livres. For this favour, they say, the farmers give two millions a-year to the King, and are at as much more charge in officers and guards employed, keeping constantly in pay 18,000 men. The defrauding the duty of the commodity is of such consequence, that if a man should be taken with but an handful of salt not bought from the farmers, he would be sent to the galleys.

26th. From Pont Lunel to Castries two long leagues. Here, on the top of a hill, is the house of the Marquis de Castries; it was begun to be built about eighteen years ago by the late Marquis, the governor of Montpellier. The house is two sides of a square, about sixty steps long, the other side unfinished. At the entrance into the house is the great stair, then the hall, and several other ordinary rooms; all this lower story is arched. Below the house, lies a very spacious garden, with a very large basin in it, all imperfect, except an aqueduct, which is a mighty work, too big, one would think, for a private house; by this the water is brought a league distant for the house and garden; some part in a covered channel, winding on the sides of the mountain; some part on a wall seven, eight, or ten feet high, as is occasion; and some part of the way over arches, some whereof are of a great height. To carry it from the side of a mountain, over a valley near the house, there are eighty-five arches, most above thirty feet in the clear; the pedestals of the arches ten or twelve feet; the arches are all turned with stone, four feet ten inches, which is the thickness of the arch. They say the house and aqueduct cost 400,000 livres. The descents to the gardens are not by steps, but by gentle declivities very easy and handsome; the walls on the sides of squared stones, just as high as the earth.

We met some travellers; few with boots, many with cloaks, especially purple; none without pistols, even those that rode into the fields to see their workmen.

27th. Rain. Imaginary space seems to me to be no more any thing than an imaginary world; for if a man and his soul remained, and the whole world were annihilated, there is left him the power of imagining either the world, or the extension it had, which is all one with the space it filled; but it proves not that the imaginary space is any thing real or positive. For space or extension, separated in our thoughts from matter or body, seems to have no more real existence, than number has (sine enumeration) without any thing to be numbered; and one may as well say, the number of the sea sand does really exist, and is something, the world being annihilated, as that the space or extension of the sea does exist, or is any thing after such annihilation. These are only affections of real existences; the one, of any being whatsoever; the other, only of material beings, which the mind has a power not only to conceive abstractedly, but increase by repetition, or adding one to another, and to enlarge which, it hath not any other ideas but those of quantity, which amount at last but to the faculty of imagining and repeating, adding units, or numbering. But if the world were annihilated, one had no more reason to think space any thing, than the darkness that will certainly be in it.

28th. The christenings of the religion at Montpellier are about three hundred, and the funerals about two hundred and sixty.

31st. Many murders committed here. He that endeavoured to kill his sister in our house, had before killed a man, and it had cost his father five hundred écus to get him off; by their secret distribution, gaining the favour of the counsellors.

April 2nd. The Papists visit all the churches, or at least seven or eight, and in each say four Paternosters, and five Ave Marias. A crucifix is exposed on the rails of the altar, which they kiss with great devotion, and give money; there being persons set at all the avenues of all the churches with basins to beg.

7th. To Arles. To Marseilles.

9th. A large valley, covered with country-houses, the finest views I had ever seen.

10th. We went on board the Royal, the Admiral's galley; the slaves clad in the King's livery, blue, in the other galleys red. This galley has twenty-nine oars of a side, two hundred and eighty slaves, sixty seamen, five hundred soldiers. The slaves in good plight. At the end of the quay are two docks to build galleys; the docks are covered, to work out of the rain and sunshine. Every galley in this arsenal has its peculiar storehouse. Great bakehouses; storehouses for bread, biscuit, and meat. A great gallery one hundred and twenty fathoms long, to make ropes and cables. An armory well-furnished. A large hospital for sick slaves, all very fit and magnificent. There go out this year twenty-six galleys.

The quay is handsome, and full of people walking, especially in the evening, where the best company meet. Round about the town is a valley encompassed with high hills, or rather rocks, and a vast number of little country-houses, called bastiles, which stand within a bow-shot one of another, some say near 20,000 in number. They have little plots of ground walled in about them, filled with vines and fruit-trees, olive-trees, artichokes, and corn in most of them.

12th. Set out for Toulon. The mountains, though perfectly rocky, are covered with pine, out of which they draw their turpentine, by cutting the bark and sap of the tree seven or eight rings deep, out of which the turpentine oozes and runs down into a hole cut to receive it; it is afterwards boiled to resin. When after many years, this treatment has killed the trees, they make charcoal of them.

13th. The way between high mountains of rocks; but where the valleys open and there is any earth, they endeavour to preserve it by walls one above the other, on the side of the hills; it is full of corn, vines, figs. Near Toulon, we saw gardens full of great orange-trees, and myrtles on the sides of the road. In the fair weather the wind accompanies the sun, and blows east at morning, south at noon, west at night; and in summer about noon, constantly a sea-breeze from the south.

We saw the port. In the basin rode the Royal Louis, one hundred and sixty-three feet long, forty-five wide, mightily adorned with gilded figures; cost of gilding 150,000 livres. She has portals for one hundred and twenty guns. The Dauphin, of one hundred guns, lies near her: by them lay four other great vessels, and nine vessels in the port. The port is very large, capable of holding the biggest fleet in Europe, and in the basin itself there is room for a great fleet. It is separated from the road by a mole, made within these four or five years. The water in most places deep. — Memoranda: A pump with balls instead of windfalls. The crane with the worm.

To Hyeres three leagues. Hyeres is situated on the south side of a high mountain. Below the town, the side of the hill is covered with orange gardens. Ripe China oranges in incredible plenty, sometimes nine or ten in a bunch. These gardens form the most delightful wood I had ever seen; there are little rivulets of water conveyed through it to water the trees in summer, without which there would be little fruit. The piece of ground, which formerly yielded thirty-six charges of corn, now yields the owner 30 or 40,000 livres, or rather 18,000, as he pays to the King four hundred éscus for tax. For the best China oranges here, we were asked thirty sous per hundred.

Here we had for supper, amongst other things, a dish of green beans, dressed with gravy, the best thing I ever eat. Above the town is a nunnery, of the order of St. Bernard, of persons of quality; they all eat alone in their chambers apart, keep a maid-servant and a lackey, and go out of the nunnery and walk about where they please. The situation very pleasant, overlooking the town, the valley, the orange-gardens, and the sea.

[The journal is continued, and a description given of the country and cultivation by St. Maximin to Aix:] Thence to Vaucluse, the famous fountain just at the foot of an exceeding high rock; the basin is a stone's cast over; the water runs out amongst the rocks, and is the source of a great river in the valley below, and has all its water from hence. The basin about Easter is usually a yard or two higher, as one may see by the mark; about August it sinks about twenty-five cans below the height it was now; they say they cannot find any bottom.

Thence by Avignon; crossed the Rhone to the Carthusian Convent, where are sixty friars; their chapel well-adorned with plate, crosses, and relicks, very rich; amongst the rest, a chalice of gold, given by Réné, the last King of Naples of the Anjou race. I was going to take it in my hand, but the Carthusian withdrew it till he had put a cloth about the handle, and so gave it into my hand, nobody being suffered to touch these holy things but a Priest. In this chapel Pope Innocent VI. lies interred; he died 1362. In a little chapel in their convent stands a plain old chair, wherein he was infallible: I sat too little a while in it to get that privilege. In their devotions they use much prostration and kissing the ground; they leave no more hair but one little circle growing round their heads, which is cut as short as one's whiskers. They have each a little habitation apart; their chapel, hall, and refectory very clean.

A league from Avignon, we passed the Durance, and then left the Pope's dominions; the rest of the way to Tarascon was on the side of a not unfruitful valley, but seemed not to be so well cultivated: moderate taxes, and a freedom from quarter, give the Pope's subjects, as it seems, more industry. Five companies of the regiment of Champagne, poor weak tattered fellows, ... return to

Montpellier, May 1st. The rent of lands in France fallen one half in these few years, by reason of the poverty of the people; merchants and handicraftsmen pay near half their gain. Noble land pays nothing in Languedoc in whose hands soever: in some other parts of France, lands in the hands of the nobles, of what sort soever, pay nothing: these noble lands, which are exempted from taxes, sell for one-half, and two-thirds more than others. The Protestants in France are thought to be one sixteenth part; in Languedoc 200,000.

For returns of money, Mr. Herbert found this train very good, and the men very civil. Mr. Bouverie, in St. Mary Axe, to Madame Herinx et son fils à Paris; they to Messrs. Covureur à Lyon; they to Sen. Jacomo et Jo. Morleves, at Livorne; they to their correspondent at Rome.

Rogation Procession, May 16th. Several orders of Friars, with a great company of little children dressed up, carrying pictures and banners: this is Rogation week for a blessing on the fruits of the earth, which, though little children cannot pray for, yet the prayers being made in their names, and offered up as from them by the parents and friends of those innocents, they think will be more prevalent.

[Description of silk-worms, of making soap, of bleaching wax, at great length, all omitted. Several extracts from statistical works on France, revenues of the Church of France, the same of Spain, all likewise omitted.]

Locke, during his residence at Montpellier, employed his leisure in reading books of travels, of the best of which he was a great admirer. At this time he read Bernier's Account of Hindostan, a work of the greatest merit, and still held in high estimation; Della Valle's Travels in the East. Of other books, the most frequent extracts are from Les Entretiens d'Ariste: a few specimens are here inserted.

"Le bon sens est gay, vif, plein de feu, come celuy qui paroist dans les Essays de Montaigne et dans le Testament de la Hoquette.

"Le Cavalier Marin n'est pas un bel esprit,

car il ne s'est jamais vu une imagination plus fertile, ni moins reglée que la sienne ; s'il parle d'une rose, il en dit tout ce qu'on peut imaginer ; bien loin de rejetter ce qui se présente, il va chercher ce qui ne se presente pas ; il épuise toujours son sujet.

" Le Tasse n'est pas toujours le plus raisonnable du monde ; à la verité on ne peut pas avoir plus de génie qu'il en a. Ses imaginations sont nobles et agréables, ses sentimens sont forts ou delicats selon ce que le sujet en demande ; ses passions sont bien touchées, et bien conduites, toutes ses comparaisons sont justes, toutes ses descriptions sont merveilleuses ; mais son génie l'emporte quelquefois trop loin ; il est trop fleuri en quelques endroits. Il badine dans les endroits assez serieux ; il ne garde pas aussi exactement que Virgile toutes les bienséances des mœurs.

" C'est un des grands talens de Voiture de choisir ce qu'il y a de bon dans les livres, et le rendre meilleur par l'usage qu'il en fait. En imitant les autres, il s'est rendu inimitable ; les traits qu'il en emprunte quelque fois de Terence, et d'Horace, semblent faits pour son sujet, et sont bien plus beaux dans les endroits où il les met, que dans ceux d'où il les a pris.

" Gracian est parmi les Espagnols modernes

un de ces génies incomprehensibles : il a beaucoup d'élévation, de sublimité, de force, et même de bon sens : mais on ne sait le plus souvent ce qu'il veut dire ; et il ne sçait pas peut-être luy meme : quelques-uns de ses ouvrages ne semblent être faits que pour n'être point entendus.

"Ces diseurs éternels de beaux mots et de belles sentences : ces copistes et ces singes de Seneque, ces Mancini, ces Malvezze et ces Loredans qui courent toujours après les brillans ; et j'ay bien de la peine de souffrir Seneque luy meme avec ses points, et ses antithèses perpetuelles."

In March 1677, Locke quitted Montpellier, where he had resided fourteen months, and travelled by the way of Toulouse and Bourdeaux towards Paris.

Extract, May 14, 1677. I rode out, and amongst other things, I saw the President Pontac's vineyard at Hautbrion ; it is a little rise of ground, open most to the west ; white sand mixed with a little gravel, scarce fit to bear any thing. The vines are trained, some to stakes, and some to laths ; not understanding Gascoin, I could not learn the cause of the difference from the workmen. This ground may be estimated to yield about twenty-five tun of wine; however, the owner makes a shift to make every vintage fifty, which he sells for 105 écus per tun: it was sold some years since for sixty, but the English have raised the market on themselves. This, however, they say, that the wine in the very next vineyard to it, though seeming equal to me, is not so good. A tun of wine (124 hogsheads English, or perhaps four per cent. more) of the best quality at Bourdeaux, which is that of Medoc or Pontac, is worth, the first penny, eighty or 100 crowns: for this, the English may thank their own folly; for whereas, some years since, the same wine was sold for fifty or sixty crowns per tun, the fashionable, sending over orders to have the best wine sent them at any rate, they have, by striving who should get it, brought it up to that price; but very good wines may be had here for thirty-five, forty, and fifty crowns.

The journey is then continued by Poictiers and Tours.

26th. Tours stands upon a little rise, between the Loire and the Cher, with very good meadows on the south side; it is a long town, well peopled, and thriving, which it owes to the great manufacture of silk.

They gave the King this year 45,000 livres, to be excused from winter quarters, which came to one tenth on the rent of their houses. Wine and wood that enter the town pay tax to the King; besides, he sends to the several companies of the trades for so much money as he thinks fit; the officer of each corps de mestier taxes every one according to his worth; which, perhaps, amounts to one écu, or four livres, a man. But a bourgeois that lives in the town, if he have land in the country and lets it, pays nothing; but the paisant who rents it, if he be worth any thing, pays for what he has, but he makes no defalcation of his rent. The manner of taxing in the country is this: the tax to be paid being laid upon the parish, the collectors for the year assess every one of the inhabitants, according as they judge him worth, but consider not the land in the parish belonging to any living out of it; this is that which so grinds the paisant in France. The collectors make their rates usually with great inequality; there lies an appeal for the over-taxed, but I find not that the remedy is made much use of.

Arrived at Paris, June 2nd. At the King's Library, the MS. Livy; Henry the Fourth's love-letters in his own hand; the first Bible ever printed, 1462, upon vellum; but what seemed of all the most curious, was eighteen large folios of plants, drawn to the life, and six of birds, so exactly well done, that whoever knew any of the plants or birds before, would then know them at first sight; they were done by one Mr. Robert, who is still employed with the same work. M. Silvester is employed in drawing the King's twelve houses. The library keeper told us there were 14,000 MSS.

Aug. 7th. M. Colbert's son answered in philosophy at the Cordeliers, his brother moderating over him, where were present three Cardinals, Boullion, D'Estré, and Bontzi, the Premier President of the Parliament of Paris, a great number of bishops and clergy, and of the long robe, a state being erected for the Dauphin, to whom his thesis was dedicated. At Mr. Butterfield's, au roy d'Angleterre, I saw a levelling instrument, made to hang and turn horizontally: the sight was taken by a perspective glass of four glasses, about a foot long; between the first and second glass was placed a single filament of silk stretched horizontally, by which the level was taken; there was a heavy weight of lead hung down perpendicular about a foot long, to keep the telescope horizontal.

28th. The Jacobins in Paris fell into civil war one with another, and went together by the ears, and the battle grew so fierce between them, that the convent was not large enough to contain the combatants, but that several of them sallied out into the streets, and there cuffed it out stoutly. The occasion, they say, was, that the Prior endeavoured to reduce them into a stricter way of living than they had for some time past observed, for which, in the fray, he was soundly beaten. At the Observatory we saw the Moon in a twenty-two foot glass, and Jupiter, with his satellites, in the same. The most remote was on the east, and the other three on the west. We saw also Saturn and his ring, in a twelve-foot glass, and one of his satellites. Monsieur Cassini told me, that the declination of the needle at Paris is about two and a half degrees to the west.

Monsieur Bernier told me that the heathens of Hindostan pretend to great antiquity; that they have books and histories in their language; that their nodus in their numbers is ten as ours, and their circuit of days seven. That they are in number about ten to one to the Mahometans. That Aurengezebe had lately engaged himself very inconveniently in wars with them upon account of religion, endeavouring to bring them by force to Mahometanism. And to discourage and bring over the Banians, or undo them, he had given exemption of customs to the trading Mahometans, by which means his revenue was much lessened; the Banians making use of the names of Mahometans to trade under, and so eluding his partiality.

4th. Saw the Palais Mazarin; a house very well furnished with pictures and statues, and cabinets in great plenty, and very fine. The roofs of the rooms extremely richly painted and gilded.

Garde Meubles at the Louvre. We saw abundance of riches both in agate, gold, and silver vessels. Two frames of looking-glasses newly made, each weighed in silver 2400 marks, each mark, so wrought, costing the King fifty-two livres; and beds exceedingly rich in embroidery; one of which was begun by Francis the First, which Cardinal Richelieu had finished, and presented the King, cost 200,000 écus.

At the Gobelins we saw the hangings; very rich and good figures. In every piece, Louis le Grand was the hero, and the rest the marks of some conquest. In one, his making a league with the Swiss, where he lays his hand on the book to swear the articles, with his hat on, and the Swiss ambassador, in a submissive posture, with his hat off.

From Paris to Versailles four leagues. The chateau there a fine house, and a much finer garden, situated on a little rise of ground, having a morass on the east side of it, and though a place naturally without water, has more jet d'eaux and water-works than are elsewhere to be seen. Looking out from the King's apartments, one sees almost nothing but water for a whole league forward; basins, jet d'eaux, a canal, in which is a man of war of thirty guns, two yachts, and several lesser vessels. The cascades, basins, &c. in the garden are so many, and so variously contrived, it would require much time to describe them. We had the honour to see them with the King, who walked about with Madame Montespan, from one to another, after having driven her and two other ladies in the coach with him about a good part of the garden. The coach had six horses. The rooms at the chateau are but little, and the stairs seem very little in proportion to the greatness of the persons who are to mount by them.

The great men's houses seem at first sight to stand irregularly, scattered at a distance, like cottages in a country village, amongst which the chateau, being higher and bigger than the rest, looks like the manor-house. But when one takes a view of them from the centre of the chateau, they appear to be ranged in good order, and they make a pleasing prospect, considering they are in a place where Nature seems to have conferred no favour.

We saw the house and lodgings; the King and Queen's apartments are very fine, but little rooms, near square. In the new lodgings they are somewhat bigger; there are six of them, one within another, all vaulted roofs. The King's cupboard is without the room, on the stair-head in the passage, and standing in the hollow of a window; and so is the Dauphin's, on the other side the court, on the stairs that go up there: both the King and he eat in the rooms next the stairs, and have no antichamber to them. The water that is employed in the garden, is raised into a reservoir over the grotto, out of a well, by ten horses that turn two spindles, and keep two pumps continually going; and into the well it is raised out of an étang in the bottom by windmills: out of the works in the garden it falls into the canal, and so to the étang again. One hundred and twenty horses are employed night and day to supply the étang.

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Paris. At the Academy for Painting and

Sculpture, one sees in the great room several pieces done by the chief masters of that academy.

They are about eighty in number; out of them are chosen two every two months to teach those who are admitted. The King gives a prize by the hands of Monsieur Colbert, who is protector of this academy; the prizes three or four medals of gold, worth four hundred livres. Those usually who get it are sent into Italy, and maintained there at the King's cost to perfect them.

24th. From Paris to Fontainbleau. One passes through the great forest for three or four miles, before one comes to the town, situated in a little open plain, encompassed with rocky woody hills.

At night we saw the opera of Alceste. The King and Queen sat on chairs with arms; on the right hand of the King sat Madame Montespan, and a little nearer the stage, on her right hand, Mademoiselle the King of England's niece: on the left hand of the Queen sat Monsieur, and at his left hand, advancing towards the stage Madame, and so forward towards the stage other ladies of the Court, all on tabourets except the King and Queen.

We saw the house at Fontainbleau, and at night a ball, where the King and Queen, and the great persons of the Court danced, and the King himself took pains to clear the room to make place for the dancers. The Queen was very rich in jewels: the King and Queen, &c. were placed as at the Opera. The Duc d'Enghien sat behind.

At Fontainbleau the King and Court went a stag-hunting in the afternoon, and at night had an opera, at all which Madame appeared in a peruke, and upper part dressed like a man.

Feb. 1st, 1678. I saw the review of the gardes du corps, the musquetaires, and the grenadiers, in the plain de Duile, near St. Germain. The garde du corps, eleven or twelve squadrons, and might be 12 or 1,400 men, all lusty, well horsed, and well clad, all in blue, new, and alike, even to their hats and gloves; armed with pistols, carabines, and long back-swords, with well-guarded hilts. The musquetaires were four squadrons, about 400 men, clad all alike in red coats, but their cloaks blue. Their hats and gloves all the same, even to the ribbons: they all wore great whiskers; I think all black, thinking perhaps to make themselves more terrible; their arms, pistols, carabine, and other things, fit for the manage of their granados. The King came to take a view of these troops between eleven and twelve o'clock, which he did so narrowly that he made them, squadron after squadron, march in file, man after man, just before him, and made the number in each squadron, as they passed, be counted, taking in the mean time a strict survey of their horses. The King, when he alighted out of his coach, had a hat laced about the edge with gold lace, and a white feather; after a while he had been on horseback, it beginning to rain, he changed it for a plain hat that had only a black ribbon about it, and was I think by the Audace à Cordebec. The Queen towards the latter end came in a coach and eight horses: the King led her along the head of all these squadrons, they being drawn up all in a line three deep, with little intervals between each squadron. At going off the field, which was at three in the afternoon, the grenadiers were made to exercise before him, which was done very readily by wheeling every four men of the same rank together, by which means they without any disorder faced about, and were immediately in rank again. When this was done, the King went alone into his chariot, taking his best hat again, and returned. There were at this muster two Marshals of France, viz. Luxembourg and De Lorge, each of them Captain of a company of gardes du corps, at the head of which each of them took his place, and saluted the King as he returned, having passed along all these squadrons.

May 26th, 1678. At the Garde Meubles no increase, that I found, of silver vessels, but rather a diminution since I saw it last in October. Sumptuary laws, when the age inclines to luxury, do not restrain, but rather increase the evil, as one may observe in Tacitus, An. l. 3. Perhaps the better way to set bounds to people's expenses, and hinder them from spending beyond their income, would be to enact that no landed men should be obliged to pay any book-debt to tradesmen, whereby the interest of tradesmen would make them very cautious of trusting those who usually are the leaders of fashions, and thereby a great restraint would be brought on the usual excess; on the other hand, the credit of poor labouring people would be preserved as before for the supply of their necessities.

June 5th. Invalides, a great hospital nearly finished. Abbeys, priories, and monasteries, were formerly obliged to entertain, some two, some five lay-brothers, which were maimed soldiers; the maintenance came to be changed into a pension of 100 livres per ann. for each person; this, some few years ago, was augmented to 150 livres per ann., and presently afterwards taken from the present possessors, and applied to the invalids, beside which all the lands and revenues belonging to Hospitals for lepers, are appropriated to the Invalides.

Locke quitted Paris in July, returning to Montpellier by the way of Tours, Orleans, and by the road leading towards Rochelle.

Many of the towns they called bourgs; but considering how poor and few the houses in most of them are, would in England scarce amount to villages. The houses generally were but one story; and though such low buildings cost not much to keep them up, yet like groveling bodies without souls, they also sink lower when they want inhabitants, of which sort of ruins we saw great numbers in all these bourgs, whereby one would guess that the people of France do not at present increase; but yet the country is all tilled and cultivated. The gentlemen's seats, of which we saw many, were most of them rather bearing marks of decay than of thriving and being well kept, except the great chateau de Richelieu, the most complete piece of building in France, where on the outside is exact symmetry, in the inside convenience, riches, and beauty, the richest gilding, the finest statues; the avenues on all sides exceeding handsome and magnificent; the situation low and unhealthy: the town is built with the same exactness, and though it has not the convenience of a town of great trade, yet the great privileges the Cardinal has got settled upon it, it being a free town, exempt from taille and salt, will always keep it full of people, and the houses dear in it.

August 10th. Vernet, the seat of the Abbé Defiat, son of the Marshal D'Efiat: he has several church benefices, which makes him a great revenue; they talk of 90,000 livres.

Great Abbey of Normoutier, where the new buildings, not yet finished, are very handsome; the gardens large, but the cellars much larger, being cut in under the sides of the hill into the rock: they had the last year there 1380 pieces of wine; we saw a great cave which will hold 200 tuns of wine.

At Niort they complained of the oppression and grievance suffered by the quartering of troops on the inhabitants: here a poor bookseller's wife, who by the largeness and furniture of her shop seemed not to have either much stock or trade, told me that there being last winter 1200 soldiers quartered in the town, two were appointed for their share, which, considering that they were to have three meals a day of flesh, besides a collation in the afternoon, all which was better to give them, and a fifth meal too if they desired it, rather than displease them; these two soldiers, for three months and a half they were there, cost them at least forty écus.

Sept 15th. Bordeaux. They usually have in a year for the trade of this part of France 2,000 vessels; the present prohibitions in England trouble them: all wines low in price, except the best Pontac and Medoc.

Saw the chateau Trompett, a strong fort on the river side, of four bastions; one of the best streets and four churches have been pulled down to set the citadel in a fair open space: a house was yet pulling down when we were there that had cost lately the building about 50,000 écus. There are in the garrison 500 French soldiers and 200 Swiss; the French have two sous per diem, and bread, which is worth about one more; the Swiss have five sous per diem and bread.

We rode abroad a league or two into the country westward, which they call Grave, from whence comes the Grave wine; all vineyard. Talking with a poor paisant, he told me he had three children; that he usually got seven sous a day, finding himself, which was to maintain their family, five in number. His wife got three sous when she could get work, which was but seldom; other times the spinning, which was for their cloth, yielded more money. Out of these seven sous they five were to be maintained, and house-rent paid, and their taille, and Sundays, and holidays provided for. For their house, which, God wot! was a poor one-room, one story, open to the tiles, without windows, and a little vineyard, which was as bad as nothing,—(for though they made out of it four or five tiers of wine, three tiers make two hogsheads, yet the labour and cost about the vineyard, making the wine, and cost of the casks to put it in, being cast up, the profit of it was very little,)—they paid twelve écus for rent, and for taille four livres, for which, not long since, the collector had taken their frying-pan and dishes, money not being ready. Their ordinary food rye-bread and water; flesh seldom seasons their pots: they can make no distinction between flesh and fasting days, but when their money reaches to a more costly meal, they buy the inwards of some beast in the market, and then they feast themselves. In Xantonge, and several other parts of France, the paisants are much more miserable: the paisants who live in Grave they count to be flourishing.

Taxes: one-eighth of the purchase to be paid of all church or corporation lands that have at any time been alienated: if they be decayed since the purchase, they pay one-eighth of the purchase; if meliorated, they pay according to the improved value. He that refuses hath a garrison of soldiers presently sent to his house.

Saw the Carthusian convent a quarter of a mile without the town; the altar adorned with pillars of the finest marble that I have seen; the marble of so excellent a kind, (interlaced with veins, as it were, of gold,) that the King hath been tempted to send for them away.

Sept. 26th. From Bourdeaux to Cadillac. Saw the great chateau built by the D. d'Espernon, built on three sides of a court, as all the great houses in France are, four stories high, and much more capacious than the chateau of Richelieu; a broad long terrace wall surrounds the building.

At Toulouse saw the Charteraux, very large and fine; saw the reliques at St. Sernin, where they have the greatest store of them that I have met with; besides others, there are six Apostles, and the head of the seventh, viz. two Jameses, Philip, Simon, Jude, Barnabas, and the head of Barthelmy. We were told of the wonders these and other reliques had done being carried in procession, but more especially the head of St. Edward, one of our Kings of England, which carried in procession delivered the town from a plague some years since.

[Locke arrived at Montpellier the middle of October, and after a short residence of less than a fortnight, set out before the end of the month on his return to Paris, by way of Lyons and Orleans, having probably been recalled by Shaftesbury, who was then at the head of the English administration. The particulars of this journey home are omitted. The mode of travelling at that time was generally on horseback, hired from one great town to another; the day's journey seven, eight, and ten leagues; the hire of horses for a journey three livres a-day for three horses, and three livres for their meat; to the guide that rode one, ten sous a day for his hire, and ten sous for his meat, and the same rate of seven livres a day for the return. Twenty sous, dinner; thirty sous, coucher.

He arrived at Paris the latter end of November, and remained there about five months.

At this time are many notes of and comparison between French and English measures; of length and capacity, of weight and fineness, of the respective monies of the two countries, and of Holland, ascertained by experiment and by information furnished by M. Briot, M. Toynard, and Romer.]

Dec. 20th. In the library of the Abbé of St. Germains, M. Covell and I saw two very old manuscripts of the New Testament, the newest of which was, as appeared by the date of it, at least 800 years old, in each of which 1 John c. v. v. 7. was quite wanting, and the end of the eighth verse ran thus, "tres unum sunt;" in another old copy the seventh verse was, but with interlining; in another much more modern copy, v. 7. was also, but differently from the old copy; and in two other old manuscripts, also, v. 7. was quite out, but as I remember in all of them the end of the eighth verse was "tres unum sunt."

The story of the nuns of Lodun possessed, was nothing but a contrivance of Cardinal Richelieu to destroy Graudier, a man he suspected to have wrote a book against him, who was condemned for witchcraft in the case, and burnt for it. The scene was managed by the Capuchins, and the nuns played their tricks well, but all was a cheat.

23rd. At the King's levee, which I saw this morning at St. Germains, there is nothing so remarkable as his great devotion, which is very exemplary; for as soon as ever he is dressed, he goes to his bed-side, where he kneels down to his prayers, several priests kneeling by him, in which posture he continues for a pretty while, not being disturbed by the noise and buzz of the rest of the chamber, which is full of people standing and talking one to another.

The Marquis de Bordage, who married M. Turenne's niece, being at Rome about the year 66 or 67, being at a mass where the Pope was present, and not above a yard or two from him, a very considerable Cardinal, who was just by him, asked him just after the elevation: "Che dice vostra Signioria di tutta questa fanfantaria?"

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Amongst other things, M. Covell told me how the patriarchs of Constantinople are made at present by the Grand Seignior: how they buy out one another; and how the non-conformist Protestants were induced by him to take the sacrament kneeling.

1679—January 4th. This day was the review of the infantry of the Maison du Roi. There were thirty companies, if one may reckon by their colours, of French, and ten of Swiss, all new habited. The officers of the

French, gold embroidery on blue; the Swiss, gold embroidery on red, and much the richer. The French common soldiers all in new clothes: the coat and breeches of cloth almost white; red vests laced with counterfeit silver lace; as much as was seen, at least, was red cloth, though if one looked farther, one should have found it grafted to linen; shoulder-belts, and bandeliers of buff leather, laced at their vests; red stockings, a new hat laced, adorned with a great white woollen feather—some were red; a new pair of white gloves with woollen fringe, and a new sword, copper gilt hilt; all which, I am told, with a coat of grey stuff to wear over it, cost forty-four livres, which is abated out of their pay; of which, all defalcations made, there remains for their maintenance five sous per diem. The soldiers, as I overtook them coming home to Paris, had most of them oiled hat cases, a part, I suppose, of their furniture, and coarse linen buskins, after the fashion of their country, to save their red stockings. The Swiss soldiers were habited in red coats and blue breeches cut after their fashion, with their points at their knees, and had no feathers. The pike-men of both had back and breast-plates; but the Swiss also had head-pieces, which the French had not. For the Swiss, the

King pays each captain for himself, and all the men in his company, eighteen livres per mensem; the captain's profit lies in this, that he agrees with his officers as he can, and so with the soldiers, who have some ten, some fourteen livres per mensem, as they can agree.

The King passed at the head of the line as they stood drawn up; the officers at the head of their companies and regiments in armour, with pikes in their hands, saluting him with their pikes, then with their hats. He very courteously put off his hat to them again; so he did, when taking his stand, they marched before him. He passed twice along the whole front forwards and backwards; first by himself, the Dauphin, &c. accompanying him; and then with the Queen, he riding by her coach side.

The sergeants complaining that their pay would not reach to make them so fine as was required, i. e. scarlet coats with true gold galloon; to make them amends for it, they were allowed to take more on their quarters. The French for excusing from quarters make them pay twenty-four, the Swiss but eighteen livres.

At Paris, the bills of mortality usually amount to 19 or 20,000; and they count in the town about 500,000 souls, 50,000 more than at London, where the bills are less. Quere, whether the Quakers, Anabaptists, and Jews, that die in London, are reckoned in the bills of mortality.

Exchange on London fifty-four pence five-eighths d'Angleterre, for one écu of France; so with commission, &c. I received 1,306 livres two sous, for 100*l.* sterling.

M. Toinard showed me a new system of our tourbillion, wherein the centre of the sun described a circle of the tourbillion, in which it made its periodical circuit, and Mercury moved about the sun as the moon does about the earth.

Pomey and Chauson were burnt at Paris about the year 64, for keeping a bawdy-house of Catemites. M. Toinard.

February 13th. I saw the library of M. de Thou, a great collection of choice, well-bound books, which are now to be sold; amongst others, a Greek manuscript, written by one Angelot, by which Stephens' Greek characters were first made. There was also a picture of a procession in the time of the League, wherein the monks of the several orders are represented armed, as indeed they were. Here also I had the honour to see the Prince of Conti, now in his seventeenth year, a very comely young gentleman; but the beauty of his mind far excels that of his body, being for his age very learned. He speaks Italian and German as a native, understands Latin well, Spanish indifferently, and is, as I am told, going to learn English: a great lover of justice and honour, very civil and obliging to all, and desires the acquaintance of persons of merit of any kind; and though I can pretend to none that might recommend me to one of the first princes of the blood of France, yet he did me the honour to ask me several questions then, and to repeat his commands to me to wait upon him at his house.

Friday. The observation of Lent at Paris is come almost to nothing. Meat is openly to be had in the shambles, and a dispensation commonly to be had from the curate without difficulty. People of sense laugh at it, and in Italy itself, for twenty sous, a dispensation is certainly to be had. The best edition of the French Bible is that in folio, in two vols. Elzevir, but the notes are not very good. The best notes are those of Diodati, and his Italian Bible is very good. Mr. Justel.

They tell here, that the Bishop of Bellay having writ against the Capuchins, and they against him, Cardinal Richelieu undertook their reconciliation, and they both promised peace; but the Capuchins writing again under another name, the Bishop replied; so that the Cardinal, seeing him some time after, told him, that had he held his peace he would have canonized him. "That would do well," replied the Bishop, "for then we should each of us have what we desire; *i. e.* one should be a Pope, and the other a saint."

Cardinal Richelieu having given him the Prince of Balzac and the Minister Silhon to read, (which he had caused to be writ, one as a character of the King, and the other of himself,) demanded one day, before the King, his opinion of them; to which the Bishop replied, "Le Prince n'est pas grand chose, et le Ministre ne vaut rien!"

A devout lady being sick, and besieged by the Carmes, made her will, and gave them all: the Bishop of Bellay coming to see her, after it was done, asked whether she had made her will; she answered yes, and told him how; he convinced her it was not well, and she desiring to alter it, found a difficulty how to do it, being so beset by the friars. The Bishop bid her not trouble herself for it, but presently took order that two notaries, habited as physicians, should come to her, who being by her bed-side, the Bishop told the company it was convenient all should withdraw; and so the former will was revoked, and a new one made and put into the Bishop's hands. The lady dies, the Carmes produce their will, and for some time the Bishop lets them enjoy the pleasure of their inheritance; but at last, taking out the other will, he says to them, "Mes frères, you are the sons of Eliah, children of the Old Testament, and have no share in the New." This is that Bishop of Bellay who has writ so much against monks and monkery.

Il y a à Paris vingt-quatre belles maisons qu'on peut voir

Luxembourg
L'Hotel de Guise
—— de Soissons
—— de la Basinierre
—— de la Ferté
—— de Grammont
—— de M. Colbert
—— de la Vrillierre
—— de Mazarin
—— de Lyonne
—— Bretonvilliers
—— Justin
—— de M. Lambert
—— de Chaumont

L' Hotel de Lesdiguiers
—— de Conti
—— de Lamoignon
—— de Jars
—— de Turenne
—— M. Amelot Bisicul
—— M. de Boisfranc
—— de Vendome
—— d'Espernon
—— de Longueville.

The Memoires de Sully are full of falsities and self-flattery, so concluded by the company chez Mr. Justel; the same which Mr. Falayseau had before told me: those of the Duc de Guise, a romance; but those of Modena, concerning Naples, good.

I saw the Père Cherubin, the Capuchin so famous for optics, at least the practical part in telescopes, at his convent in the Rue St. Honoré.

The Capuchins are the strictest and severest order in France, so that to mortify those of their order, they command them the most unreasonable things, irrational and ridiculous: as to plant cabbage-plants the roots upwards, and then reprehend them, the planters, because they do not grow. As soon as they find any one to have any inclinations any way, as Père Cherubin in optics and telescopes, to take from him all that he has done, or may be useful to him in that science, and employ him in something quite contrary; but he has now a particular lock and key to his cell, which the guardian's key opens not.

This severity makes them not compassionate one to another, whatever they would be to others.

Within this year past, were bills set up about Paris, with a privilege for a receipt to kill lice, whereof the Duke of Bouillon had the monopoly, and the bills were in his name.

"Par permission et privilège du Roy, accordé à perpetuité à Monsieur le Duc de Bouillon, Grand Chambellan de France, par lettres patentes du 17 Sept. 1677, vérifiés en Parlement par arrêt du 13 Dec. au dit an, le public sera averti que l'on vend à Paris un petit sachet de la grandeur d'une pièce de quinze sols, pour garantir toute sorte de personnes de la vermine, et en retirer ceux qui en sont incommodés sans mercure.

"Il est fait defense à toutes personnes de le faire, ni contrefaire, à peine de trois mille livres d'amende." Extrait de l'affiche.

At the seminary of St. Sulpice, over the door opposite to the gate, is the Virgin, a child crowning her, and under her feet this inscription: Interveni pro clero.

The Protestants within these twenty years have had above three hundred churches demolished, and within these two months fifteen more condemned.

[During his residence at Paris, Locke made acquaintance with Mr. Justel, (whose house was then the resort of the literati of France,) and with him he continued to correspond long after his return to England. He also formed an acquaintance with Mr. Guenelon, the celebrated physician of Amsterdam, whose friendship was most useful some years afterwards, during his retreat in Holland. He became also intimately acquainted with Monsieur Toinard, the author of Harmonia Evangeliorum.

At the beginning of May, Locke left Paris, and arrived in the Thames on the 8th; he resided for some time at Thanet-House in Aldersgate-street, Shaftesbury being then at the head of the English administration.

Before proceeding farther, it will be proper here to insert the notes and dissertations on different subjects scattered at intervals through the Journal.]

KNOWLEDGE, ITS EXTENT AND MEASURE.

Quod volumus facile credimus.

Feb. 8, 1677.—QUESTION.—How far, and by what means, the will works upon the understanding and assent?

Our minds are not made as large as truth, nor suited to the whole extent of things; amongst those that come within its reach, it meets with a great many too big for its grasp, and there are not a few that it is fair to give up as incomprehensible. It finds itself lost in the vast extent of space, and the least particle of matter puzzles it with an inconceivable divisibility; and those who, out of a great care not to admit unintelligible things, deny or question an eternal omniscient spirit, run themselves into a greater difficulty by making an eternal and intelligent matter. Nay, our minds, whilst they think and (*****) our bodies, find it past their capacity to conceive how they do the one or the other. This state of our minds, however remote from the perfection whereof we ourselves have an idea, ought not, however, to discourage our endeavours in the search of truth, or make us think we are incapable of knowing any thing, because we cannot understand all things. We shall find that we are sent out into the world furnished with those faculties that are fit to obtain knowledge, and knowledge sufficient, if we will but confine it within those purposes, and direct it to those ends, which the constitution of our nature, and the circumstance of our being, point out to us. If we consider ourselves in the condition we are in the world, we cannot but observe that we are in an estate, the necessities whereof call for a constant supply of meat, drink, clothing, and defence from the weather; and our conveniences demand yet a great deal more. To provide these things, Nature furnishes us only with the material, for the most part rough, and unfitted to our use; it requires labour, art, and thought, to suit them to our occasions; and if the knowledge of man had not found out ways to shorten the labour, and improve several things which seem not, at first sight, to be of any use to us, we should spend all our time to make a scanty provision for a poor and miserable life: a sufficient instance, whereof, we have in the inhabitants of that large and fertile part of the world the West Indies, who lived a poor uncomfortable life, scarce able to subsist; and that, perhaps, only for want of knowing the use of that store out of which the inhabitants of the Old World had the skill to draw iron, and thereof make themselves utensils necessary for the carrying on and improvement of all other arts; no one of which can subsist well, if at all, without that one metal. Here, then, is a large field for knowledge, proper for the use and advantage of men in this world; viz. to find out new inventions of dispatch to shorten or ease our labour, or applying sagaciously together several agents and materials, to procure new and beneficial productions fit for our use, whereby our stock of riches (i. e. things useful for the conveniences of our life,) may be increased, or better preserved: and for such discoveries as these the mind of man is well fitted; though, perhaps, the essence of things, their first original, their secret way of working, and the whole extent of corporeal beings, be as far beyond our capacity as it is beside our use; and we have no reason to complain that we do not know the nature of the sun or stars, that the consideration of light itself leaves us in the dark, and a thousand other speculations in Nature, since, if we knew them, they would be of no solid advantage to us, nor help to make our lives the happier, they being but the useless employment of idle or over-curious brains, which amuse themselves about things out of which they can by no means draw any real benefit. So that, if we will consider man as in the world, and that his mind and faculties were given him for any use, we must necessarily conclude it must be to procure him the happiness which this world is capable of; which certainly is nothing else but plenty of all sorts of those things which can with most ease, pleasure, and variety, preserve him longest in it: so that, had mankind no concernment but in the world, no apprehensions of any being after this life, they need trouble their heads with nothing but the history of nature, and an inquiry into the qualities of the things in the mansion of the universe which hath fallen to their lot, and, being well-skilled in the knowledge of material causes and effect of things in their power, directing their thoughts to the improvement of such arts and inventions, engines, and utensils, as might best contribute to their continuation in it with conveniency and delight, they might well spare themselves the trouble of looking any farther; they need not perplex themselves about the original frame or constitution of the universe, drawing the great machine into systems of their own contrivance, and building hypotheses, obscure, perplexed, and of no other use but to raise dispute and continual wrangling: For what need have we to complain of our ignorance in the more general and foreign parts of nature, when all our business lies at home? Why should we bemoan our want of knowledge in the particular apartments of the universe, when our portion here only lies in the little spot of earth where we and all our concernments are shut up? Why should we think ourselves hardly dealt with, that we are not furnished with compass nor plummet to sail and fathom that restless, unnavigable ocean, of the universal matter, motion, and space? Since there be shores to bound our voyage and travels, there are at least no commodities to be brought from thence serviceable to our use, nor that will better our condition; and we need not be displeased that we have not knowledge enough to discover whether we have any neighbours or no in those large bulks of matter we see floating in the abyss, or of what kind they are, since we can never have any communication with them that might turn to our advantage. So that, considering man barely as an animal of three or four score years duration, and then to end, his condition and state requires no other knowledge than what may furnish him with those things which may help him to pass out to the end of that time with ease, safety, and delight, which is all the happiness he is capable of: and for the attainment of a correspondent measure mankind is sufficiently provided. He has faculties and organs well adapted for the discovery, if he thinks fit to employ and use them. Another use of his knowledge is to live in peace with his fellow men, and this also he is capable of. Besides a plenty of the good things of this world, with life, health, and peace to enjoy them, we can think of no other concernment mankind hath that leads him not out of it, and places him not beyond the confines of this earth; and it seems probable that there should be some better state somewhere else to which man might arise, since, when he hath all that this world can afford, he is still unsatisfied, uneasy, and far from happiness. It is certain, and that all men must consent to, that there is a possibility of another state when this scene is over; and that the happiness and misery of that depends on the ordering of ourselves in our actions in this time of our probation here. The acknowledgment of a God will easily lead any one to this, and he hath left so many footsteps of himself, so many proofs of his being in every creature, as are sufficient to convince any who will but make use of their faculties that way,—and I dare say nobody escapes this conviction for want of sight; but if any be so blind, it is only because they will not open their eyes and see; and those only doubt of a Supreme Ruler and an universal law, who would willingly be under no law, accountable to no judge; those only question another life hereafter, who intend to lead such a one here as they fear to have examined, and would be loath to answer for when it is over. This opinion I shall always be of, till I see that those who would cast off all thoughts of God, heaven, and hell, lead such lives as would become rational creatures, or observe that one unquestionable moral rule, Do as you would be done to. It being then possible, and at least probable, that there is another life, wherein we shall give an account of our past actions in this to the great God of heaven and earth; here comes in another, and that the main concernment of mankind, to know what those actions are that he is to do, what those are he is to avoid, what the law is, he is to live by here, and shall be judged by hereafter; and in this part too he is not left so in the dark, but that he is furnished with principles of knowledge, and faculties able to discover light enough to guide him; his understanding seldom fails him in this part, unless where his will would have it so. If he take a wrong course, it is most commonly because he goes wilfully out of the way, or, at least, chooses to be bewildered; and there are few, if any, who dreadfully mistake, that are willing to be in the right; and I think one may safely say, that amidst the great ignorance which is so justly complained of amongst mankind, where any one endeavoured to know his duty sincerely, with a design to do it, scarce ever any one miscarried for want of knowledge. The business of men being to be happy in this world, by the enjoyment of the things of nature subservient to life, health, ease, and pleasure, and by the comfortable hopes of another life when this is ended; and in the other world, by an accumulation of higher degrees of bliss in an everlasting security, we need no other knowledge for the attainment of those ends but of the history and observation of the effect and operation of natural bodies within our power, and of our duty in the management of our own actions, as far as they depend on our will, *i. e.* as far also as they are in our power. One of those is the proper enjoyment of our bodies, and the highest perfection of that, and the other of our souls; and to attain both these we are fitted with faculties both of body and soul. Whilst then we have ability to improve our knowledge in experimental natural philosophy, whilst we want not principles whereon to establish moral rules, nor light (if we please to make use of it) to distinguish good from bad actions, we have no reason to complain if we meet with difficulties in other things which put our reasons to a nonplus, confound our understandings, and leave us perfectly in the dark under the sense of our own weakness: for those relating not to our happiness any way are no part of our business, and therefore it is not to be wondered if we have not abilities given us to deal with things that are not to our purpose, nor conformable to our state or end. God having made the great machine of the universe suitable to his infinite power and wisdom, why should we think so proudly of ourselves whom he hath put into a small canton, and perhaps the most inconsiderable part of it, that he hath made us the surveyors of it, and that it is not as it should be unless we can thoroughly comprehend it in all the parts of it? It is agreeable to his goodness, and to our condition, that we should be able to apply them to our use, to understand so far some parts of that we have to do with, as to be able to make them subservient to the convenience of our life, as proper to fill our hearts with praise of his bounty. But it is also agreeable to his greatness, that it should exceed our capacity, and the highest flight of our imagination, the better to fill us with admiration of his power and wisdom;—besides its serving to other ends, and being suited probably to the use of other more intelligent creatures which we know not of. If it be not reasonable to expect that we should be able to penetrate into all the depths of nature, and understand the whole constitution of the universe, it is yet a higher insolence to doubt the existence of a God because we cannot comprehend him—to think there is not an infinite Being because we are not so. If all things must stand or fall by the measure of our understandings, and that denied to be, wherein we find inextricable difficulties, there will very little remain in the world, and we shall scarce leave ourselves so much as understandings, souls, or bodies. It will become us better to consider well our own weakness and exigencies, what we are made for, and what we are capable of, and to apply the powers of our bodies and faculties of our souls, which are well suited to our condition, in the search of that natural and moral knowledge, which, as it is not beyond our strength, so is not beside our purpose, but may be attained by moderate industry, and improved to our infinite advantage.

[This excellent article was begun in March, continued at intervals, and finished in May, apparently during a journey.]

STUDY.

1677, March 6th. The end of study is knowledge, and the end of knowledge practice or communication. This true delight is commonly joined with all improvements of knowledge; but when we study only for that end, it is to be considered rather as diversion than business, and so is to be reckoned among our recreations.

The extent of knowledge or things knowable is so vast, our duration here so short, and the entrance by which the knowledge of things gets into our understanding so narrow, that the time of our whole life would be found too short without the necessary allowances for childhood and old age, (which are not capable of much improvement,) for the refreshment of our bodies and unavoidable avocations, and in most conditions for the ordinary employment of their callings, which if they neglect, they cannot eat nor live. I say that the whole time of our life, without these necessary defalcations, is not enough to acquaint us with all those things, I will not say which we are capable of knowing, but which it would not be only convenient but very advantageous to know. He that will consider how many doubts and difficulties have remained in the minds of the most knowing men after long and studious inquiry; how much, in those several provinces of knowledge they have surveyed, they have left undiscovered; how many other provinces of the "mundus intelligibilis," as I may call it, they never once travelled on, will easily consent to the disproportionateness of our time and strength to this greatness of business, of knowledge taken in its full latitude, and which if it be not our main business here, yet it is so necessary to it, and so interwoven with it, that we can make little further progress in doing, than we do in knowing, — at least to little purpose; acting without understanding being usually at best but lost labour.

It therefore much behoves us to improve the best we can our time and talent in this respect, and since we have a long journey to go, and the days are but short, to take the straightest and most direct road we can. To this purpose, it may not perhaps be amiss to decline some things that are likely to bewilder us, or at least lie out of our way.—First, as all that maze of words and phrases which have been invented and employed only to instruct and amuse people in the art of disputing, and will be found perhaps, when looked into, to have little or no meaning; and with this kind of stuff the logics, physics, ethics, metaphysics, and divinity of the schools are thought by some to be too much filled. This I am sure, that where we leave distinctions without finding a difference in things; where we make variety of phrases, or think we furnish ourselves with arguments without a progress in the real knowledge of things, we only fill our heads with empty sounds, which however thought to belong to learning and knowledge, will no more improve our understandings and strengthen our reason, than the noise of a jack will fill our bellies or strengthen our bodies: and the art to fence with those which are called subtleties, is of no more use than it would be to be dexterous in tying and untying knots in cobwebs. Words are of no value nor use, but as they are the signs of things; when they stand for nothing, they are less than cyphers, for, instead of augmenting the value of those they are joined with, they lessen it, and make it nothing; and where they have not a clear distinct signification, they are like unusual or ill-made figures that confound our meaning.

2nd. An aim and desire to know what hath been other men's opinions. Truth needs no recommendation, and error is not mended by it; and in our inquiry after knowledge, it as little concerns us what other men have thought, as it does one who is to go from Oxford to London, to know what scholars walk quietly on foot, inquiring the way and surveying the country as they went, who rode post after their guide without minding the way he went, who were carried along muffled up in a coach with their company, or where one doctor lost or went out of his way, or where another stuck in the mire. If a traveller gets a knowledge of the right way, it is no matter whether he knows the infinite windings, byeways, and turnings where others have been misled; the knowledge of the right secures him from the wrong, and that is his great business: and so methinks it is in our pilgrimage through this world; men's fancies have been infinite even of the learned, and the history of them endless: and some not knowing whither they would go, have kept going, though they have only moved; others have followed only their own imaginations, though they meant right, which is an errant which with the wisest leads us through strange mazes. Interest has blinded some and prejudiced others, who have yet marched confidently on; and however out of the way, they have thought themselves most in the right. I do not say this to undervalue the light we receive from others, or to think there are not those who assist us mightily in our endeavours after knowledge; perhaps without books we should be as ignorant as the Indians, whose minds are as ill clad as their bodies; but I think it is an idle and useless thing to make it one's business to study what have been other men's sentiments in things where reason is only to be judge, on purpose to be furnished with them, and to be able to cite them on all occasions. However it be esteemed a great part of learning, yet to a man that considers how little time he has, and how much work to do, how many things he is to learn, how many doubts to clear in religion, how many rules to establish to himself in morality, how much pains to be taken with himself to master his unruly desires and passions, how to provide himself against a thousand cases and accidents that will happen, and an infinite deal more both in his general and particular calling; I say to a man that considers this well, it will not seem much his business to acquaint himself designedly with the various conceits of men that are to be found in books even upon subjects of moment. I deny not but the knowing of these opinions in all their variety, contradiction, and extravagancy, may serve to instruct us in the vanity and ignorance of mankind, and both to humble and caution us upon that consideration; but this seems not reason enough to me to engage purposely in this study, and in our inquiries after more material points, we shall meet with enough of this medly to acquaint us with the weakness of man's understanding.

3rd. Purity of language, a polished style, or exact criticism in foreign languages—thus I think Greek and Latin may be called, as well as French and Italian,—and to spend much time in these may perhaps serve to set one off in the world, and give one the reputation of a scholar; but if that be all, methinks it is labouring for an outside; it is at best but a handsome dress of truth or falsehood that one busies one's-self about, and makes most of those who lay out their time this way rather as fashionable gentlemen, than as wise or useful men.

There are so many advantages of speaking one's own language well, and being a master in it, that let a man's calling be what it will, it cannot but be worth our taking some pains in it, but it is by no means to have the first place in our studies: but he that makes good language subservient to a good life and an instrument of virtue, is doubly enabled to do good to others.

When I speak against the laying out our time and study on criticisms, I mean such as may serve to make us great masters in Pindar and Persius, Herodotus and Tacitus; and I must always be understood to except all study of languages and critical learning, that may aid us in understanding the Scriptures; for they being an eternal foundation of truth as immediately coming from the fountain of truth, whatever doth help us to understand their true sense, doth well deserve our pains and study.

4th. Antiquity and history, as far as they are designed only to furnish us with story and talk. For the stories of Alexander and Cæsar, no farther than they instruct us in the art of living well, and furnish us with observations of wisdom and prudence, are not one jot to be preferred to the history of Robin Hood, or the Seven Wise Masters. I do not deny but history is very useful, and very instructive of human life; but if it be studied only for the reputation of being an historian, it is a very empty thing; and he that can tell all the particulars of Herodotus and Plutarch, Curtius and Livy, without making any other use of them, may be an ignorant man with a good memory, and with all his pains hath only filled his head with Christmas tales. And which is worse, the greatest part of history being made up of wars and conquests, and their style, especially the Romans, speaking of valour as the chief if not the only virtue, we are in danger to be misled by the general current and business of history, and, looking on Alexander and Cæsar, and such like heroes, as the highest instances of human greatness, because they each of them caused the death of several 100,000 men, and the ruin of a much greater number, overrun a great part of the earth, and killed the inhabitants to possess themselves of their countries—we are apt to make butchery and rapine the chief marks and very essence of human greatness. And if civil history be a great dealer of it, and to many readers thus useless, curious and difficult inquirings in antiquity are much more so; and the exact dimensions of the Colossus, or figure of the Capitol, the ceremonies of the Greek and Roman marriages, or who it was that first coined money; these, I confess, set a man well off in the world, especially amongst the learned, but set him very little on in his way.

5th. Nice questions and remote useless speculations, as where the earthly Paradise was—or what fruit it was that was forbidden—where Lazarus's soul was whilst his body lay dead—and what kind of bodies we shall have at the Resurrection? &c. &c. These things well-regulated, will cut off at once a great deal of business from one who is setting out into a course of study; not that all these are to be counted utterly useless, and lost time cast away on them. The four last may be each of them the full and laudable employment of several persons who may with great advantage make languages, history, or antiquity, their study. For as for words without meaning, which is the first head I mentioned, I cannot imagine them any way worth hearing or reading, much less studying; but there is such an harmony in all sorts of truth and knowledge, they do all support and give light so to one another, that one cannot deny, but languages and criticisms, history and antiquity, strange opinions and odd speculations, serve often to clear and confirm very material and useful doctrines. My meaning therefore is, not that they are not to be looked into by a studious man at any time; all that I contend is, that they are not to be made our chief aim, nor first business, and that they are always to be handled with some caution: for since having but a little time, we have need of much care in the husbanding of it. These parts of knowledge ought not to have either the first or greatest part of our studies, and we have the more need of this caution, because they are much in vogue amongst men of letters, and carry with them a great exterior of learning, and so are a glittering temptation in a studious man's way, and such as is very likely to mislead him.

But if it were fit for me to marshal the parts of knowledge, and allot to any one its place and precedency, thereby to direct one's studies, I should think it were natural to set them in this order.

1. Heaven being our great business and interest, the knowledge which may direct us thither is certainly so too, so that this is without peradventure the study that ought to take

the first and chiefest place in our thoughts; but wherein it consists, its parts, method, and application, will deserve a chapter by itself.

2. The next thing to happiness in the other world, is a quiet prosperous passage through this, which requires a discreet conduct and management of ourselves in the several occurrences of our lives. The study of prudence then seems to me to deserve the second place in our thoughts and studies. A man may be, perhaps, a good man, (which lives in truth and sincerity of heart towards God,) with a small portion of prudence, but he will never be very happy in himself, nor useful to others without; these two are every man's business.

3. If those who are left by their predecessors with a plentiful fortune are excused from having a particular calling, in order to their subsistence in this life, it is yet certain that, by the law of God, they are under an obligation of doing something; which, having been judiciously treated by an able pen, I shall not meddle with, but pass to those who have made letters their business; and in these I think it is incumbent to make the proper business of their calling the third place in their study.

This order being laid, it will be easy for every one to determine with himself what tongues and histories are to be studied by him, and how far in subserviency to his general or particular calling.

Our happiness being thus parcelled out, and being in every part of it very large, it is certain we should set ourselves on work without ceasing, did not both the parts we are made up of bid us hold. Our bodies and our minds are neither of them capable of continual study, and if we take not a just measure of our strength, in endeavouring to do a great deal, we shall do nothing at all.

The knowledge we acquire in this world I am apt to think extends not beyond the limits of this life. The beatific vision of the other life needs not the help of this dim twilight; but be that as it will, I am sure the principal end why we are to get knowledge here, is to make use of it for the benefit of ourselves and others in this world; but if by gaining it we destroy our health, we labour for a thing that will be useless in our hands; and if by harassing our bodies (though with a design to render ourselves more useful) we deprive ourselves of the abilities and opportunities of doing that good we might have done with a meaner talent, which God thought sufficient for us by having denied us the strength to improve it to that pitch which men of stronger constitutions can attain to, we rob God of so much service, and our neighbour of all that help, which, in a state of health, with moderate knowledge, we might have been able to perform. He that sinks his vessel by overloading it, though it be with gold and silver and precious stones, will give his owner but an ill account of his voyage.

It being past doubt then, that allowance is to be made for the temper and strength of our bodies, and that our health is to regulate the measure of our studies, the great secret is to find out the proportion; the difficulty whereof lies in this, that it must not only be varied according to the constitution and strength of every individual man, but it must also change with the temper, vigour, and circumstances, and health of every particular man, in the different varieties of health, or indisposition of body, which every thing our bodies have any commerce with is able to alter: so that it is as hard to say how many hours a day a man shall study constantly, as to say how much meat he shall eat every day, wherein his own prudence, governed by the present circumstances, can only judge. . . . The regular proceeding of our watch not being the fit measure of time, but the secret motions of a much more curious engine, our bodies being to limit out the portion of time in this occasion: however, it may be so contrived that all the time may not be lost, for the conversation of an ingenious friend upon what one hath read in the morning, or any other profitable subject, may perhaps let into the mind as much improvement of knowledge, though with less prejudice to the health, as settled solemn poring over books, which we generally call study; which, though a necessary part, yet I am sure is not the only, and perhaps not the best way, of improving the understanding.

2. Great care is to be taken that our studies encroach not upon our sleep: this I am sure, sleep is the great balsam of life and restorative of nature, and studious sedentary men have more need of it than the active and laborious, because those men's business and their bodily labours, though they waste their spirits, help transpiration, and carry away their excrements, which are the foundation of diseases; whereas the studious sedentary man, employing his spirits within, equally or more wastes them than the other, but without the benefit of transpiration, allowing the matter of disease insensibly to accumulate. We are to lay by our books and meditations when we find either our heads or stomachs indisposed upon any occasion;

study at such time doing great harm to the body, and very little good to the mind.

1st. As the body, so the mind also, gives laws to our studies; I mean to the duration and continuance of them; let it be never so capacious, never so active, it is not capable of constant labour nor total rest. The labour of the mind is study, or intention of thought, and when we find it is weary, either in pursuing other men's thoughts, as in reading, or tumbling or tossing its own, as in meditation, it is time to give off and let it recover itself. Sometimes meditation gives a refreshment to the weariness of reading, and *vice versâ;* sometimes the change of ground, *i. e.* going from one subject or science to another, rouses the mind, and fills it with fresh vigour; oftentimes discourse enlivens it when it flags, and puts an end to the weariness without stopping it one jot, but rather forwarding it in its journey; and sometimes it is so tired, that nothing but a perfect relaxation will serve the turn. All these are to be made use of according as every one finds most successful in himself to the best husbandry of his time and thought.

2nd. The mind has sympathies and antipathies as well as the body; it has a natural preference often of one study before another. It would be well if one had a perfect command of them, and sometimes one is to try for the mastery, to bring the mind into order and a pliant obedience; but generally it is better to follow the bent and tendency of the mind itself, so long as it keeps within the bounds of our proper business, wherein there is generally latitude enough. By this means, we shall go not only a great deal faster, and hold out a great deal longer, but the discovery we shall make will be a great deal clearer, and make deeper impressions in our minds. The inclination of the mind is as the palate to the stomach; that seldom digests well in the stomach, or adds much strength to the body, that nauseates the palate, and is not recommended by it.

There is a kind of restiveness in almost every one's mind; sometimes without perceiving the cause, it will boggle and stand still, and one cannot get it a step forward: and at another time it will press forward, and there is no holding it in. It is always good to take it when it is willing, and keep on whilst it goes at ease, though it be to the breach of some of the other rules concerning the body. But one must take care of trespassing on that side too often, for one that takes pleasure in study, flatters himself that a little now, and a little to-morrow, does no harm, that he feels no ill effects of an hour's sitting up,—insensibly undermines his health, and, when the disease breaks out, it is seldom charged to these past miscarriages that laid in the provision for it.

The subject being chosen, the body and mind being both in a temper fit for study, what remains but that a man betake himself to it? These certainly are good preparatories, yet if there be not something else done, perhaps we shall not make all the profit we might.

1st. It is a duty we owe to God as the fountain and author of all truth, who is truth itself: and it is a duty also we owe our own selves, if we will deal candidly and sincerely with our own souls, to have our minds constantly disposed to entertain and receive truth wheresoever we meet with it, or under whatsoever appearance of plain or ordinary, strange, new, or perhaps displeasing, it may come in our way. Truth is the proper object, the proper riches and furniture of the mind, and according as his stock of this is, so is the difference and value of one man above another. He that fills his head with vain notions and false opinions, may have his mind perhaps puffed up and seemingly much enlarged, but in truth it is narrow and empty; for all that it comprehends, all that it contains, amounts to nothing, or less than nothing; for falsehood is below ignorance, and a lie worse than nothing.

Our first and great duty then is, to bring to our studies and to our inquiries after knowledge a mind covetous of truth; that seeks after nothing else, and after that impartially, and embraces it, how poor, how contemptible, how unfashionable soever it may seem. This is that which all studious men profess to do, and yet it is that where I think very many miscarry. Who is there almost that has not opinions planted in him by education time out of mind; which by that means come to be as the municipal laws of the country, which must not be questioned, but are then looked on with reverence as the standards of right and wrong, truth and falsehood; when perhaps these so sacred opinions were but the oracles of the nursery, or the traditional grave talk of those who pretend to inform our childhood; who receive them from hand to hand without ever examining them? This is the fate of our tender age, which being thus seasoned early, it grows by continuation of time, as it were, into the very constitution of the mind, which afterwards very difficultly receives a different tincture. When we are grown up, we find the world divided into bands and companies; not only as congregated under several politics and governments, but united only upon account of opinions, and in that respect, combined strictly one with another, and distinguished from others, especially in matters of religion. If birth or chance have not thrown a man young into any of these, which yet seldom fails to happen, choice, when he is grown up, certainly puts him into some or other of them; often out of an opinion that that party is in the right, and sometimes because he finds it is not safe to stand alone, and therefore thinks it convenient to herd somewhere. Now, in every one of these parties of men there are a certain number of opinions which are received and owned as the doctrines and tenets of that society, with the profession and practice whereof all who are of their communion ought to give up themselves, or else they will be scarce looked on as of that society, or at best be thought but lukewarm brothers, or in danger to apostatize.

It is plain, in the great difference and contrariety of opinions that are amongst these several parties, that there is much falsehood and abundance of mistakes in most of them. Cunning in some, and ignorance in others, first made them keep them up; and yet how seldom is it that implicit faith, fear of losing credit with the party or interest, (for all these operate in their turns,) suffers any one to question the tenet of his party; but altogether in a bundle he receives, embraces, and without examining, he professes, and sticks to them, and measures all other opinions by them. Worldly interest also insinuates into several men's minds divers opinions, which, suiting with their temporal advantage, are kindly received, and in time so riveted there, that it is not easy to remove them. By these, and perhaps other means, opinions come to be settled and fixed in men's minds, which whether true or false, there they remain in reputation as substantial material truths, and so are seldom questioned or examined by those who entertain them; and if they happen to be false, as in most men the greatest part must necessarily be, they put a man quite out of the way in the whole course of his studies; and though in his reading and inquiries he flatters himself that his design is to inform his understanding in the real knowledge of truth, yet in effect it tends and reaches to nothing but the confirming of his already received opinions, the things he meets with in other men's writings and discoveries being received or neglected as they hold proportion with those anticipations which before had taken possession of his mind. This will plainly appear if we look but on an instance or two of it. It is a principal doctrine of the Roman party to believe that their Church is infallible; this is received as the mark of a good Catholic, and implicit faith, or fear, or interest, keeps all men from questioning it. This being entertained as an undoubted principle, see what work it makes with scripture and reason; neither of them will be heard,—the speaking with never so much clearness and demonstration,—when they contradict any of the doctrines or institutions; and though it is not grown to that height, barefaced to deny the scripture, yet interpretations and distinctions evidently contrary to the plain sense and to the common apprehensions of men, are made use of to elude its meaning, and preserve entire the authority of this their principle, that the Church is infallible. On the other side, make the light within our guide, and see what will become of reason and scripture. An Hobbist, with his principle of self-preservation, whereof himself is to be judge, will not easily admit a great many plain duties of morality. The same must necessarily be found in all men who have taken up principles without examining the truth of them. It being here, then, that men take up prejudice to truth without being aware of it, and afterwards, like men of corrupted appetites, when they think to nourish themselves, generally feed only on those things that suit with and increase the vicious humour,—this part is carefully to be looked after. These ancient pre-occupations of our minds, these several and almost sacred opinions, are to be examined, if we will make way for truth, and put our minds in that freedom which belongs and is necessary to them. A mistake is not the less so, and will never grow into a truth, because we have believed it a long time, though perhaps it be the harder to part with; and an error is not the less dangerous, nor the less contrary to truth, because it is cried up and had in veneration by any party, though it is likely we shall be the less disposed to think it so. Here, therefore, we have need of all our force and all our sincerity; and here it is we have use of the assistance of a serious and sober friend, who may help us sedately to examine these our received and beloved opinions; for the mind by itself being prepossessed with them cannot so easily question, look round, and argue against them. They are the darlings of our minds, and it is as hard to find fault with them, as for a man in love to dislike his mistress: there is need, therefore, of the assistance of another, at least it is very useful impartially to show us their defects, and help us to try them by the plain and evident principle of reason or religion.

2. This grand miscarriage in our study draws after it another of less consequence, which yet is very natural for bookish men to run into, and that is the reading of authors very intently and diligently to mind the arguments pro and con they use, and endeavour to lodge them safe in their memory, to serve them upon occasion. This, when it succeeds to the purpose designed, (which it only does in very good memories, and, indeed, is rather the business of the memory than judgment,) sets a man off before the world as a very knowing learned man, but upon trial will not be found to be so; indeed, it may make a man a ready talker and disputant, but not an able man. It teaches a man to be a fencer; but in the irreconcileable war between truth and falsehood, it seldom or never enables him to choose the right side, or to defend it well, being got of it. He that desires to be knowing indeed, that covets rather the possession of truth than the show of learning, that designs to improve himself in the solid substantial knowledge of things, ought, I think,

to take another course; *i. e.* to endeavour to get a clear and true notion of things as they are in themselves. This being fixed in the mind well, (without trusting to or troubling the memory, which often fails us,) always naturally suggests arguments upon all occasions, either to defend the truth or confound error. This seems to me to be that which makes some men's discourses to be so clear, evident, and demonstrative, even in a few words; for it is but laying before us the true nature of any thing we would discourse of, and our faculty of reasoning is so natural to us, that the clear inferences do, as it were, make themselves: we have, as it were, an instinctive knowledge of the truth, which is always most acceptable to the mind, and the mind embraces it in its native and naked beauty. This way also of knowledge, as it is in less danger to be lost, because it burdens not the memory, but is placed in the judgment; so it makes a man talk always coherently and confidently to himself on which side soever he is attacked, or with whatever arguments: the same truth, by it natural light and contrariety to falsehood, still shows, without much ado, or any great and long deduction of words, the weakness and absurdity of the opposition: whereas the topical man, with his great stock of borrowed and collected arguments, will be found often to contradict himself; for the arguments of divers men being often founded upon different notions, and deduced from contrary principles, though they may be all directed to the support or confutation of some one opinion, do, notwithstanding, often really clash one with another.

3. Another thing, which is of great use for the clear conception of truth, is, if we can bring ourselves to it, to think upon things abstracted and separate from words. Words, without doubt, are the great and almost only way of conveyance of one man's thoughts to another man's understanding; but when a man thinks, reasons, and discourses within himself, I see not what need he has of them. I am sure it is better to lay them aside, and have an immediate converse with the ideas of the things; for words are, in their own nature, so doubtful and obscure, their signification, for the most part, so uncertain and undetermined, which men even designedly have in their use of them increased, that if, in our meditations, our thoughts busy themselves about words, and stick at the names of things, it is odds but they are misled or confounded. This, perhaps, at first sight may seem but an useless nicety, and in the practice, per-

haps, it will be found more difficult than one would imagine; but yet upon trial I dare say any one's experience will tell him it was worth while to endeavour it. He that would call to mind his absent friend, or preserve his memory, does it best and most effectually by reviving in his mind the idea of him, and contemplating that; and it is but a very faint imperfect way of thinking of one's friend barely to remember his name, and think upon the sound he is usually called by.

4. It is of great use in the pursuit of knowledge not to be too confident, nor too distrustful of our own judgment, nor to believe we can comprehend all things nor nothing. He that distrusts his own judgment in every thing, and thinks his understanding not to be relied on in the search of truth, cuts off his own legs that he may be carried up and down by others, and makes himself a ridiculous dependant upon the knowledge of others, which can possibly be of no use to him; for I can no more know any thing by another man's understanding, than I can see by another man's eyes. So much I know, so much truth I have got; so far I am in the right, as I do really know myself; whatever other men have, it is in their possession, it belongs not to me, nor can be communicated

to me but by making me alike knowing; it is a treasure that cannot be lent or made over. On the other side, he that thinks his understanding capable of all things, mounts upon wings of his own fancy, though indeed Nature never meant him any, and so venturing into the vast expanse of incomprehensible verities, only makes good the fable of Icarus, and loses himself in the abyss. We are here in the state of mediocrity; finite creatures, furnished with powers and faculties very well fitted to some purposes, but very disproportionate to the vast and unlimited extent of things.

5. It would, therefore, be of great service to us to know how far our faculties can reach, that so we might not go about to fathom where our line is too short; to know what things are the proper objects of our inquiries and understanding, and where it is we ought to stop, and launch out no farther for fear of losing ourselves or our labour. This, perhaps, is an inquiry of as much difficulty as any we shall find in our way of knowledge, and fit to be resolved by a man when he is come to the end of his study, and not to be proposed to one at his setting out; it being properly the result to be expected after a long and diligent research to determine what is knowable and what not, and not a ques-

tion to be resolved by the guesses of one who has scarce yet acquainted himself with obvious truths. I shall therefore, at present, suspend the thoughts I have had upon this subject, which ought maturely to be considered of, always remembering that things infinite are too large for our capacity; we can have no comprehensive knowledge of them, and our thoughts are at a loss and confounded when they pry too curiously into them. The essences also of substantial beings are beyond our ken; the manner also how Nature, in this great machine of the world, produces the several phenomena, and continues the species of things in a successive generation, &c., is what I think lies also out of the reach of our understanding. That which seems to me to be suited to the end of man, and lie level to his understanding, is the improvement of natural experiments for the conveniences of this life, and the way of ordering himself so as to attain happiness in the other—*i. e.* moral philosophy, which, in my sense, comprehends religion too, or a man's whole duty. [but vid. this alibi.]

6th. For the shortening of our pains, and keeping us from incurable doubt and perplexity of mind, and an endless inquiry after greater certainty than is to be had, it would be very convenient in the several points that are to be known and studied, to consider what proofs the matter in hand is capable of, and not to expect other kind of evidence than the nature of the thing will bear. Where it hath all the proofs that such a matter is capable of, there we ought to acquiesce, and receive it as an established and demonstrated truth; for that which hath all the evidence it can have, all that belongs to it, in the common state and order of things, and that supposing it to be as true as any thing ever was, yet you cannot possibly contrive nor imagine how to have better proofs of it than you have without a miracle: whatsoever is so, though there may be some doubts, some obscurity, yet is clear enough to determine our thoughts and fix our assent. The want of this caution, I fear, has been the cause why some men have turned sceptics in points of great importance, which yet have all the proofs that, considering the nature and circumstances of the things, any rational man can demand, or the most cautious fancy.

7th. A great help to the memory, and means to avoid confusion in our thoughts, is to draw out and have frequently before us a scheme of those sciences we employ our studies in, a map, as it were, of the mundus intelligibilis. This, perhaps, will be best done by every one himself for his own use, as best agreeable to his own notion, though the nearer it comes to the nature and order of things it is still the better. However, it cannot be decent for me to think my crude draught fit to regulate another's thoughts by, especially when, perhaps, our studies lie different ways; though I cannot but confess to have received this benefit by it, that though I have changed often the subject I have been studying, read books by patches and accidentally, as they have come in my way, and observed no method nor order in my studies, yet making now and then some little reflection upon the order of things as they are, or at least I have fancied them to have in themselves, I have avoided confusion in my thoughts: the scheme I had made serving like a regular chest of drawers, to lodge those things orderly, and in the proper places, which came to hand confusedly, and without any method at all.

8th. It will be no hinderance at all to our study if we sometimes study ourselves, *i. e.* own abilities and defects. There are peculiar endowments and natural fitnesses, as well as defects and weaknesses, almost in every man's mind: when we have considered and made ourselves acquainted with them, we shall not only be the better enabled to find out remedies for the infirmities, but we shall know the better how to turn ourselves to those things which we are best fitted to deal with, and so to apply ourselves in the course of our studies, as we may be able to make the greatest advantage. He that has a bittle and wedges put into his hand, may easily conclude he is ordered to cleave knotty pieces, and a plane and carving tools to design handsome figures.

It is too obvious a thing to mention the reading only the best authors on those subjects we would inform ourselves in. The reading of bad books is not only the loss of time and standing still, but going backwards quite out of one's way; and he that has his head filled with wrong notions is much more at a distance from truth than he that is perfectly ignorant.

I will only say this one thing concerning books, that however it has got the name, yet converse with books is not, in my opinion, the principal part of study; there are two others that ought to be joined with it, each whereof contributes their share to our improvement in knowledge; and those are, meditation and discourse. Reading, methinks, is but collecting the rough materials, amongst which a great deal must be laid aside as useless. Meditation is, as it were, choosing and fitting the materials, framing the timbers, squaring and laying the stones, and raising the building; and discourse with a friend (for wrangling in a dispute is of little use,) is, as it were, surveying the structure, walking in the rooms, and observing the symmetry and agreement of the parts, taking notice of the solidity or defects of the works, and the best way to find out and correct what is amiss; besides that it helps often to discover truths, and fix them in our minds as much as either of the other two.

It is time to make an end of this long and overgrown discourse. I shall only add one word, and then conclude; and that is, that whereas in the beginning I cut off history from our study, as a useless part, as certainly it is, where it is read only as a tale that is told; here, on the other side, I recommend it to one who hath well settled in his mind the principles of morality, and knows how to make a judgment on the actions of men as one of the most useful studies he can apply himself to. There he shall see a picture of the world and the nature of mankind, and so learn to think of men as they are. There he shall see the rise of opinions, and find from what slight, and sometimes shameful occasions, some of them have taken their rise, which yet afterwards have had great authority, and passed almost for sacred in the world, and borne down all before them. There also one may learn great and useful instructions of prudence, and be warned against the cheats and rogueries of the world, with many more advantages, which I shall not here enumerate.

Monday, Dec. 12th, 1678.—The principal spring from which the actions of men take their rise, the rule they conduct them by, and the end to which they direct them, seems to be credit and reputation, and that which at any rate they avoid, is in the greatest part shame and disgrace. This makes the Hurons and other people of Canada with such constancy endure inexpressible torments : this makes merchants in one country, and soldiers in another : this puts men upon school divinity in one country, and physics and mathematics in another : this cuts out the dresses for the women, and makes the fashions for the men ; and makes them endure the inconveniences of all. This makes men drunkards and sober, thieves and honest, and robbers themselves true to one and another. Religions are upheld by this and factions maintained, and the shame of being disesteemed by those with whom one hath lived, and to whom one would recommend oneself, is the great source and director of most of the actions of men. Where riches are in credit, knavery and injustice that produce them are not out of countenance, because, the state being got, esteem follows it, as in some countries the crown ennobles the blood. Where power, and not the good exercise of it, gives reputation, all the injustice, falsehood, violence, and oppression that attains that, goes for wisdom and ability. Where love of one's country is the thing in credit, there we shall see a race of brave Romans; and when being a favourite at court was the only thing in fashion, one may observe the same race of Romans all turned flatterers and informers. He therefore that would govern the world well, had need consider rather what fashions he makes, than what laws; and to bring any thing into use he need only give it reputation.

" SCRUPULOSITY,* 1678.

" SHALL I not pass with you for a great empiric if I offer but one remedy to the three maladies you complain of? Or at least will you not think me to use less care and application than becomes the name of friend you honour me with, if I think to make one answer serve the three papers you have sent me in matters very different? But yet if it be found, as I imagine it will, that they all depend on the same causes, I believe you will think they will not need different cures.

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* Probably a draft of a letter to Mr. Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, to whom Locke dedicated the Essay.

"I conceive then that the great difficulty, uncertainty, and perplexity of thought you complain of in these particulars, arise in great measure from this ground, that you think that a man is obliged strictly and precisely at all times to do that which is absolutely best; and that there is always some action so incumbent upon a man, so necessary to be done, preferable to all others, that if that be omitted, one certainly fails in one's duty, and all other actions whatsoever, otherwise good in themselves, yet coming in the place of some more important and better that at the time might be done, are tainted with guilt, and can be no more an acceptable offering to God than a blemished victim under the law.

"I confess sometimes our duty is so evident, and the rule and circumstance so determine it to the present performance, that there is no latitude left; nothing ought at that time to come in the room of it. But this I think happens seldom, at least I may confidently say it does not in the greatest part of the actions of our lives, wherein I think God, out of his infinite goodness, considering our ignorance and frailty, hath left us a great liberty. Love to God and charity to ourselves and neighbours are, no doubt, at all times indispensably necessary: but whilst we keep these warm in our hearts, and sincerely practise what they upon all occasions suggest to us, I cannot but think that God allows us in the ordinary actions of our lives a great latitude; so that two or more things being proposed to be done, neither of which crosses that fundamental law, but may very well consist with the sincerity wherewith we love God and our neighbour, I think it is at our choice to do either of them.

"The reasons that make me of this opinion are; 1st. That I cannot imagine that God, who has compassion upon our weakness and knows how we are made, would put poor men, nay, the best of men, those that seek him with sincerity and truth, under almost an absolute necessity of sinning perpetually against him, which will almost inevitably follow if there be no latitude at all allowed us in the occurrences of our lives, but that every instant of our being in the world has always incumbent on it one certain action exclusive of all others. For according to this supposition, the best being always to be done, and that being but one, it is almost impossible to know which is that one best, there being so many actions which may all have some peculiar and considerable goodness, which we are at the same time capable of doing, and so many nice circumstances and considerations to be weighed one against another, before we can come to make any judgment which is best, and after all are in great danger to be mistaken: the comparison of those actions that stand in competition together, with all their grounds, motives, and consequences as they lie before us, being very hard to be made; and what makes the difficulty yet far greater is, that a great many of those which are of moment, and should come into the reckoning, always escape us; our short sight never penetrating far enough into any action to discover all that is comparatively good or bad in it, or the extent of our thoughts to reach all the actions which at any one time we are capable of doing; so that at last, when we come to choose which is best, in making our judgment upon wrong and scanty measures, we cannot secure ourselves from being in the wrong: this is so evident in all the consultations of mankind, that should you select any number of the best and wisest men you could think of, to deliberate in almost any case what were best to be done, you should find them make almost all different propositions, wherein one (if one) only lighting on what is best, all the rest acting by the best of their skill and caution would have been sinners as missing of that one best. The Apostles themselves were not always of one mind.

"2d. I cannot conceive it to be the design of God, nor to consist with either his goodness or our business in the world, to clog the action of our lives, even the minutest of them, (which will follow, if one thing that is best is always to be done,) with infinite consideration before we begin it, and unavoidable perplexity and doubt when it is done. When I sat down to write to you this hasty account, before I set pen to paper, I might have considered whether it were best for me ever to meddle with the answering your questions; my want of ability, it being besides my business, the difficulty of advising any body, and presumption of advising one so far above me, would suggest doubts enough in the case. I might have debated with myself, whether it were best to take time to answer your demands, or, as I do, set to it presently.

"3d. Whether there were not somewhat better that I could do at this time.

"4th. I might doubt whether it were best to read any books on this subject before I gave you my opinion, or send you my own naked thoughts. To those a thousand other scruples, as considerable, might be added, which would still beget others, in every one of which there would be, no doubt, still a better and a worse; which, if I should sit down, and with serious consideration endeavour to find and determine clearly and precisely with myself to the minutest difference, before I betake myself to give you an answer, perhaps my whole age might be spent in the deliberation about writing two sides of paper to you, and I should perpetually blot out one word and put in another, erase to-morrow what I write to-day; whereas, having this single consideration of complying with the desire of a friend whom I honour, and whose desires I think ought to have weight with me, who persuades me that I have an opportunity of giving him some pleasure in it, I cannot think I ought to be scrupulous in the point, or neglect obeying your commands, though I cannot be sure but that I might do better not to offer you my opinion, which may be instable; and probably I should do better to employ my thoughts how to be able to cure you of a quartan ague, or to cure in myself some other and more dangerous faults, which is more properly my business. But my intention being respect and service to you, and all the design of my writing consisting with the love I owe to God and my neighbour, I should be very well satisfied with what I write, could I be as well assured it would be useful as I am past doubt it is lawful, and that I have the liberty to do it; and yet I cannot say, and I believe you will not think, it is the best thing I could do. If we were never to do but what is absolutely the best, all our lives would go away in deliberation and distraction, and we should never come to action.

"5th. I have often thought that our state here in this world is a state of mediocrity, which is not capable of extremes, though on one side there may be great excellency and perfection; that we are not capable of continual rest, nor continual exercise, though the latter has certainly much more of excellence in it. We are not able to labour always with the body, nor always with the mind; and to come to our present purpose, we are not capable of living altogether exactly by a rule, not altogether without it—not always retired, not always in company; but this being but an odd notion of mine, it may suffice only to have mentioned it, my authority being no great argument in the case;

only give me leave to say, that if it holds true, it will be applicable in several cases, and be of use to us in the conduct of our lives and actions; but I have been too long already, to enlarge on this fancy any further at present.

" As to our actions in general things, this in short I think:

" 1st. That all negative precepts are always to be obeyed.

" 2nd, That positive commands only sometimes upon occasions; but we ought to be always furnished with the habits and dispositions to those positive duties against those occasions.

" 3rd. That between these two; *i. e.* between unlawful, which are always, and necessary, *quoad hic et nunc*, which are but sometimes, there is a great latitude, and therein we have our liberty, which we may use without scrupulously thinking ourselves obliged to that, which in itself may be best.

" If this be so, as I question not that you will conclude with me it is, the greatest cause of your scruples and doubts, I suppose, will be removed; and so the difficulties in the cases proposed will in a good measure be removed too. When I know from you whether I have guessed right or no, I may be encouraged to venture on two other causes, which I think may be concerned also in all the cases you propose; but being of much less moment than this I have mentioned here, may be deferred to another time, and then considered *en passant*, before we come to take up the particular cases separately.

Memorandum. The two general causes that I suppose remaining, are:

"1st. Thinking things inconsistent that are not; viz. worldly business and devotion.

"2nd. Natural inconstancy of temper; where the cures are to be considered, at least as far as this inconstancy is prejudicial, for no farther than that ought it to be cured."

"SIR, ——— 1678.

"By yours of the 21st Nov. you assure me that in my last, on this occasion, I hit right on the principal and original cause of some disquiet you had upon the matter under consideration. I should have been glad to have known also, whether the cure I there offered were any way effectual; or wherein the reasons I gave came short of that satisfaction as to the point, viz. that we are not obliged to do always that which is precisely best, as was desired. For I think it most proper to the subduing those enemies of our quiet—fear, doubts, and scruples, and for establishing a lasting peace, to do as those who design the conquest of new territories, viz. clear the country as we go, and leave behind us no enemies unmastered, no lurking-holes unsearched, no garrisons unreduced, which may give occasions to disorder and insurrection, and excite disturbances. If, therefore, in that, or any other papers, any of my arguments and reasonings shall appear weak and obscure; if they reach not the bottom of the matter, are wide of the particular case, or have not so cleared up the question in all the parts and extent of it, as to settle the truth with evidence and certainty, I must beg you to let me know what doubts still remain, and upon what reasons grounded, that so in our progress we may look upon those propositions that you are once thoroughly convinced of, to be settled and established truths, of which you are not to doubt any more without new reasons that have not yet been examined. Or, on the other side, by your answers to my reasons I may be set right and recovered from an error. For as I write you nothing but my own thoughts, (which is vanity enough—but you will have it so,) yet I am not so vain as to imagine them infallible, and therefore expect from you that mutual great office of friendship, to show me my mistakes, and to reason me into a better understanding; for it matters not on which side the truth lies, so we do but find and embrace it. This way of proceeding is necessary on both our accounts; on mine, because in my friendship with you, as well as others, I design to gain by the bargain that which I esteem the great benefit of friendship, the rectifying my mistakes and errors, which makes me so willingly expose my crude extemporary thoughts to your view, and lay them, such as they are, before you: and on your account also I think it very necessary, for your mind having been long accustomed to think it true, that the thing absolutely in itself best ought always indispensably to be done, you ought, in order to the establishing your peace perfectly, to examine and clear up that question, so as at the end of the debate to retain it still for true, or perfectly reject it as a mistaken or wrong measure; and to settle it as a maxim in your mind, that you are no more to govern yourself or thoughts by that false rule, but wholly lay it aside as condemned, without putting yourself to the trouble, every time you reflect on it, to weigh again all those reasons upon which you made that conclusion; and so also in any other opinions or principles, when you once come to be convinced of their falsehood. If this be not done, it will certainly happen, that this principle (and so of the rest) having been for a long time settled in your mind, will, upon every occasion, recur; and the reasons upon which you rejected it not being so familiar to your mind, nor so ready at hand to oppose it, the old acquaintance will be apt to resume his former station and influence, and be apt to disturb that quiet which had not its foundation perfectly established. For these reasons it is, that I think we ought to clear all as we go, and come to a plenary result in all the propositions that come under debate, before we go any farther. This has been usually my way with myself, to which, I think, I owe a great part of my quiet; and, I believe, a few good principles, well established, will reach farther, and resolve more doubts, than at first sight perhaps one would imagine; and the grounds and rules on which the right and wrong of our actions turn, and which will generally serve to conduct us in the cares and occurrences of our lives, in all states and conditions, lie possibly in a narrower compass, and in a less number, than is ordinarily supposed; but, to come to them, one must go by sure and well-grounded steps."

[The argument is continued at great length, with the intent of reconciling worldly business and devotion.]

1678.—Happiness. That the happiness of man consists in pleasure whether of body or mind, according to every one's relish. The *summum malum* is pain, or dolor of body and mind; that this is so, I appeal not only to the experience of all mankind, and the thoughts of every man's breast, but to the best rule of this—the Scripture, which tells that at the right-hand of God, the place of bliss, are pleasures for evermore; and that which men are condemned for, is not for seeking pleasure, but for preferring the momentary pleasures of this life to those joys which shall have no end.

Virtue. To make a man virtuous, three things are necessary: 1st. Natural parts and disposition. 2nd. Precepts and instruction. 3rd. Use and practice; which is able better to correct the first, and improve the latter.

May 17th, 1678.—According to the right of inheritance, by the law of Moses, the land of inheritance ought to have been divided into thirteen parts for the twelve sons of Jacob: viz. a double portion, *i. e.* two-thirteenths for Reuben the eldest, and one-thirteenth to each of the rest. Reuben, by his incest, forfeited one-half of his birthright, and was disinherited;

and Joseph, (who had saved the family, and was the eldest son of Rachael, designed by Jacob for his first wife) had this double portion shared betwixt his two sons, Ephraim and Manasses. Levi, in the mean time, had not its one-thirteenth of land, but one-tenth of all the product; by which account, it follows, that the rest of the tribes paid but one-fortieth to the tribe of Levi by their tithes, as having the one-thirteenth part of the land of inheritance belonging to the tribe of Levi, all except some few towns allotted the Levites for habitation, divided amongst them the lay tribes.

May 21st, 1678.—A civil law is nothing but the agreement of a society of men either by themselves, or one or more authorised by them: determining the rights, and appointing rewards and punishments to certain actions of all within that society.

Fermentation. I saw by chance, an experiment which confirmed me in an opinion I have long had, that in fermentation, a new air is generated. *

M. Toinard produced a large bottle of Muscat; it was clear when he set it on the table,

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* Locke in this place appears to have come very near one of the greatest discoveries in physical science, that of fixed air, which a century later changed the whole face of chemistry.

but when he had drawn out the stopper, a multitude of little bubbles arose, and swelled the wine above the mouth of the bottle. It comes from this, that the air which was included and disseminated in the liquor, had liberty to expand itself, and so to become visible, and being much lighter than the liquor, to mount with great quickness. Q. Whether this be air new generated, or whether the springy particles of air in the fruits out of which these fermenting liquors are drawn, have by the artifice of Nature been pressed close together, and thereby other particles fastened and held so: and whether fermentation does not loose these bonds, and give them liberty to expand themselves again? Take a bottle of fermenting liquor, and tie a bladder on the mouth. Q. How much new air will it produce? whether this has the quality of common air?

Sept. 4th, 1678.—In the reading of books, methinks these are the principal parts or heads of things to be taken notice of. 1st. The knowledge of things; their essence and nature, properties, causes, and consequences of each species, which I call Philosophica, and must be divided according to the several orders and species of things: and of these, so far as we have the true notion of things as really they are in their indistinct beings, so far we advance in real and true knowledge. This improvement of our understandings is to be got more by meditation than reading, though that also is not to be neglected, and the faculty chiefly exercised about this, the judgment. The second head is history, wherein it being both impossible in itself, and useless also to us to remember every particular, I think the most useful, to observe the opinions we find amongst mankind concerning God, religion, and morality, and the rules they have made to themselves, or practice has established in any of these matters; and here the memory is principally employed. The third head is that which is of most use; that is, what things we find amongst other people fit for our imitation, whether politic or private wisdom; any arts conducing to the conveniences of life. The fourth is any natural production that may be transplanted into our country, or commodities which may be an advantageous commerce; and these concern practice or action.

The first, I call Adversaria Philosophica, which must be divided into the several species of things as they come in one's way.——The second, Adversaria Historica, comprehending the opinions or traditions which are to be found amongst men, concerning God, Creation, Revelation, Prophecies, Miracles.—2d. Their rules or institutes, concerning things that are duties, sins, or indifferent in matters of religion, or things that are commanded, forbidden, or permitted by their municipal laws in order to civil society, which I call Instituta, which contain—

Officia Religiosa	Lege divina et ad cultum divinum.
Peccata	
Indifferentia	
Officia Civilia	Lege civili.
Crimina	
Licita	

The ways they use to obtain blessings from the Divinity, or atone for their sins, which I call Petitoria Expiatoria; and last of all, any supernatural things that are to be observed amongst them, magical arts or real predictions.

The third I call Adversaria Immitanda, and that is whatever wise practices are to be found either for governing of policies, or a man's private conduct, or any beneficial arts employed on natural bodies for their improvement to our use, which contains these heads—

Politica sive sapientia civilis.

Prudentia sive sapientia privata.

Physica sive artes circa
    Potum.
    Cibum.
    Medicinam.
Motus ubi mechanica.
Sensuum objecta.

The fourth I call Adversaria Acquirenda, which are the natural products of the country, fit to be transplanted into ours, and there propagated, or else brought thither for some useful quality they have: or else to mark the commodities of the country, whether natural or artificial, which they send out, and are the proper business of merchandise to get by their commerce, and these are the following, Acquirenda and Merces. There is yet one more, which is the history of natural causes and effects, wherein it may be convenient in our reading to observe these several properties of bodies, and the several effects that several bodies or their qualities have one upon another; and principally to remark those that may contribute either to the improvement of arts, or give light into the nature of things, which is that which I called above Philosophica; which I conceive to consist in having a true, clear, and distinct idea of the nature of any thing, which in natural things, or real things, because we are ignorant of their essence, takes in their causes, properties and effects; or as much of them as we can know, and in moral beings their essence and consequences. This Natural History I call Historica Physica referenda secundum Species.

December 28, 1680.—Rushworth, an. 1640. p. 1221. This note to be added in the margin. This second coming in of the Scots was occasioned and principally encouraged by a letter which the Lord Saville, afterwards Earl of Sussex, writ with his own hand, and forged the names of a dozen or fourteen of the chiefest of the English nobility, together with his own, which he sent into Scotland by the hands of Mr. H. Darley, who remained there as agent from the said English Lords until he had brought the Scots in. At the meeting of the Grand Council, when the English and Scots Lords came together, the letter caused great dispute amongst them; till at last my Lord Saville, being reconciled to the Court, confessed to the King the whole matter.—A. E. S.*

The like marginal note to be added p. 1260. This petition was presented to the King at York, by the hands of the Lord Mandevill and the Lord Edward Howard. The King immediately called a Cabinet Council, wherein it was concluded to cut off both the Lords' heads the next day; when the council was up, and the King gone, Duke Hamilton, and the Earl of Strafford, General of the Army, remaining behind, when Duke Hamilton, asking the Earl of Strafford whether the army would stand to them, the Earl of Strafford answered he feared not, and protested he did not think of that before then. Hamilton replied, if we are not sure of the army, it may be our heads instead of theirs; whereupon they both agreed to go to the King and alter the council, which accordingly they did.

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* Does A. E. S. mean Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury ?

May 5th, 1681.—Coleman's Sermon on Job ii. 20. 4to. London. 45. p. 35.

The 1st Cor. 5, and Matt. 18, are the common places on which are erected Church Government. Padre Paolo writ many years before, that when the English hierarchy shall fall into the hands of busy and audacious men, or meet with a Prince tractable to Prelacy, then much mischief is likely to ensue in that kingdom. Ib. p. 33.—Quære. Whether there be any such thing?

May 16th, 1681.—The three great things that govern mankind are Reason, Passion, and

Superstition; the first governs a few, the two last share the bulk of mankind, and possess them in their turns; but superstition is most powerful, and produces the greatest mischiefs.

June 24th.—There are two sorts of knowledge in the world, general and particular, founded upon two different principles; *i. e.* true ideas, and matter of fact, or history. All general knowledge is founded only upon true ideas; and so far as we have these, we are capable of demonstration, or certain knowledge: for he that has the true idea of a triangle or circle, is capable of knowing any demonstration concerning these figures; but if he have not the true idea of a scalenon, he cannot know any thing concerning a scalenon, though he may have some confused or imperfect opinion concerning a scalenon, upon a confused or imperfect idea of it; or when he believes what others say concerning a scalenon, he may have some uncertain opinion concerning its properties, but this is a belief, and not knowledge. Upon the same reason, he that has a true idea of God, of himself as his creature, or the relation he stands in to God and his fellow-creatures, and of justice, goodness, law, happiness, &c. &c. is capable of knowing moral things, or have a demonstrative certainty in them. But though I say a man that hath such ideas, is capable of certain knowledge in them, yet I do not say that presently he hath thereby that certain knowledge, no more than that he that hath a true idea of a triangle and a right angle, doth presently thereby know that three angles of a triangle are equal to two right ones. He may believe others that tell him so, but know it not till he himself hath employed his thoughts on and seen the connection and agreement of their ideas, and so made to himself the demonstration; *i. e.* upon examination seen it to be so. The first great step, therefore, to knowledge, is to get the mind furnished with true ideas, which the mind being capable of knowing of moral things as well as figures, I cannot but think morality, as well as mathematics, capable of demonstration, if men would employ their understandings to think more about it, and not give themselves up to the lazy, traditional way of talking one after another: by the knowledge of natural bodies, and their operation reaching little farther than bare matter of fact, without having perfect ideas of the ways and manners they are produced, nor the concurrent causes they depend on; and also the well management of public or private affairs depending upon the various and unknown humours, interests, and capacity of men we have to do with in the world, and not upon any settled ideas of things. Physique, polity, and prudence, are not capable of demonstration, but a man is principally helped in them by the history of matter-of-fact, and a sagacity of enquiring into probable causes, and finding out an analogy in their operations and effects. Knowledge then depends upon right and true ideas; opinion upon history and matter-of-fact: and hence it comes to pass, that our knowledge of general things are *eternæ veritates*, and depend not upon the existence or accidents of things, for the truths of mathematics and morality are certain, whether men make true mathematical figures, or suit their actions to the rules of morality or no. For that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right ones, is infallibly true, whether there be any such figure as a triangle existing in the world or no. And it is true, that it is every man's duty to be just, whether there be any such thing as a just man in the world or no. But whether this course in public or private affairs will succeed well,—whether rhubarb will purge, or quinquina cure an ague, is only known by experience; and there is but probability grounded upon experience or analogical reasoning, but no certain knowledge or demonstration.

By having true and perfect ideas, we come to be in a capacity of having perfect knowledge, which consists in two parts: 1st. The knowing the properties of the thing itself; thus he that hath the true idea of a triangle, may know, if he will examine and follow the conduct of his reason, that its three angles are equal to two right ones, and the like. 2nd. The knowing how it stands related to any other figure, of which he has a perfect idea; viz. that of a triangle. But without the having these ideas true and perfect, he is not capable of knowing any of these properties in the thing itself, or relative to any other, though he may be able to say, after others when he has affirmed it, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right ones, and believe them to signify truth: though he himself knows not what these words signify, if he have no true ideas of a triangle or right angles, or knows them not to be true, if he have not made out to himself that demonstration which is by comparing the ideas and their parts together.

The best Algebra yet extant is Outred's, though to all Algebra there needs but two theorems of Euclid, and five rules of Descartes, but those who are not masters of it make use of more.

" Les esprits populaires s'offensent de tout ce qui repugne à leurs préjugés;" one ought to take care, therefore, in all discourses, whether narrative or matter-of-fact, instructive to teach any doctrine, or persuasive, to take care of shocking the received opinion of those one has to deal with, whether true or false.

June 26th.—To choose, is to will one thing before another, and to will is to bend our souls to the having or doing of that which they see to be good; (Hooker 553, p. 78.) or rather, to will is, after consideration, or upon knowledge and choice, to begin or continue any thought of the mind, or motion of the body, in our power.

Sunday, August 7th, 1681.—Whatsoever carries any excellency with it, and includes not imperfection, must needs make a part of the idea we have of God. So that with being, and the continuation of it, or perpetual duration; power and wisdom and goodness must be ingredients of the perfect or super-excellent being which we call God, and that in the utmost or infinite degree. But yet that unlimited power cannot be an excellency without it be regulated by wisdom and goodness; for since God is eternal and perfect in his own being, he cannot make use of that power to change his own being into a better or another state; and therefore all the exercise of that power must be in and upon his creatures, which cannot but be employed for their good and benefit, as much as the order and perfection of the whole can allow each individual in its particular rank and station: and therefore looking on God as a being infinite in goodness as well as power, we cannot imagine he hath made any thing with a design that it should be miserable, but that he hath afforded it all the means of being happy that its nature and estate is capable of: and though justice be also a perfection which we must necessarily ascribe to the Supreme Being, yet we cannot suppose the exercise of it should extend farther than his goodness has need of it for the preservation of his creatures in the order and beauty of the state that he has placed each of them in; for since our actions cannot reach unto him, or bring him any profit or damage, the punishments he inflicts on any of his creatures, *i. e.* the misery or destruction he brings upon them, can be nothing else but to preserve the greater or more considerable part, and so being only for preservation, his justice is nothing but a branch of his goodness, which is fain by severity to restrain the irregular and destructive parts from doing harm; for to imagine God under a necessity of punishing for any other reason but this, is to make his justice a great imperfection, and to suppose a power over him that necessitates him to operate contrary to the rules of his wisdom and goodness, which cannot be supposed to make any thing so idly as that it should be purposely destined or be put in a worse state than destruction, (misery being as much a worse state than annihilation, as pain is than insensibility, or the torments of a rack less eligible than quiet sound sleeping): the justice then of God can be supposed to extend no farther than infinite goodness shall find it necessary for the preservation of his works.

Sunday, Sept. 18th, 1681.—Religion* being that homage and obedience which man pays immediately to God, it supposes that man is capable of knowing that there is a God, and what is required by, and is acceptable to Him, thereby to avoid his anger and procure his favour. That there is a God, and what that God is, nothing can discover to us, nor judge in us, but natural reason. For whatever discovery we receive any other way, must come originally from inspiration, which is an opinion or persuasion in the mind whereof a man knows not the rise nor reason, but is received there as a truth, coming from an unknown, and therefore a supernatural cause, and not founded upon those principles nor observations in the way of reasoning which makes the understanding admit other things for truths. But no such inspiration concerning God, or his worship, can be admitted for truth by him that thinks himself thus inspired, much less by any other whom he would persuade to believe him inspired, any farther than it is conformable to reason; not only because where reason is not, I judge it is impossible for a man himself to distinguish betwixt inspiration and fancy, truth and error; but also it is impossible to have such a notion of God, as to believe that he should make a creature to whom the knowledge of himself was necessary, and yet not to be discovered by that way which discovers every thing else that concerns us, but was to come into the minds of men only by such a way by which all manner of errors come in, and is more likely to let in falsehoods than truths, since nobody can doubt, from the contradiction and strangeness of opinions concerning God and religion in this world, that men are likely to have more frenzies than inspirations. Inspiration then, barely in itself, cannot be a ground to receive any doctrine not conformable to reason. In the next place, let us see how far inspiration can enforce on the mind any opinion concerning God or his worship, when accompanied with a power to do a miracle; and here too, I say, the last determination must be that of reason.

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* These remarks anticipate the argument in Archbishop Tillotson's celebrated discourse against Transubstantiation.

1st. Because reason must be the judge what is a miracle and what not; which not knowing how far the power of natural causes do extend themselves, and what strange effects they may produce, is very hard to determine.

2nd. It will always be as great a miracle, that God should alter the course of natural things to overturn the principles of knowledge and understanding in a man, by setting up any thing to be received by him as a truth, which his reason cannot assent to, as the miracle itself; and so at best, it will be but one miracle against another, and the greater still on reason's side; it being harder to believe that God should alter, and put out of its ordinary course some phenomenon of the great world for once, and make things act contrary to their ordinary rule, purposely that the mind of man might do so always afterwards, than that this is some fallacy or natural effect, of which he knows not the cause, let it look never so strange.

3rd. Because man does not know whether there be not several sorts of creatures above him, and between him and the Supreme, amongst which there may be some that have the power to produce in Nature such extraordinary effects as we call miracles, and may have the will to do it, for other reasons than the confirmation of truth; for the magicians of Egypt turned their rods into serpents as well as Moses; and since so great a miracle as that was done in opposition to the true God, and the revelation sent by him, what miracle can have certainty and assurance greater than that of a man's reason?

And if inspiration have so much the disadvantage of reason in the man himself who is inspired, it has much more so in him who receives the revelation only by tradition from another, and that too very remote in time and place.

I do not hereby deny in the least that God can do, or hath done, miracles for the confirmation of truth; but I only say that we cannot think he should do them to enforce doctrines or notions of himself, or any worship of him not conformable to reason, or that we can receive such for truth for the miracle's sake: and even in those books which have the greatest proof of revelation from God, and the attestation of miracles to confirm their being so, the miracles are to be judged by the doctrine, and not the doctrine by the miracles, *v.* Deut. xiii. 1. Matt. xiv. 24. And St. Paul says, "If an angel from Heaven should teach any other doctrine," &c. &c.

Sunday, Feb. 19th, 1682.—A strong and firm persuasion of any proposition relating to religion, for which a man hath either no or not sufficient proofs from reason, but receives them as truths wrought in the mind extraordinarily by influence coming immediately from God himself, seems to me to be enthusiasm, which can be no evidence or ground of assurance at all, nor can by any means be taken for knowledge. If such groundless thoughts as these, concerning ordinary matters, and not religion, possess the mind strongly, we call it raving, and every one thinks it a degree of madness; but in religion, men, accustomed to the thoughts of revelation, make a greater allowance to it, though indeed it be a more dangerous madness; but men are apt to think in religion they may, and ought, to quit their reason.

I find that the Christians, Mahometans, and Brahmins, all pretend to this immediate inspiration; but it is certain that contradictions and falsehoods cannot come from God; nor can any one that is of the true religion, be assured of any thing by a way whereof those of a false religion may be, and are equally confirmed in theirs. For the Turkish dervishes pretend to revelations, ecstasies, visions, raptures, to be transported with illumination of God, *v.* Ricaut. The Jaugis, amongst the Hindoos, talk of being illuminated and entirely united to God, *v.* Bernier, as well as the most spiritualized Christians.

April 6th.—It is to be observed concerning these illuminations, that how clear soever they may seem, they carry no knowledge nor certainty any farther than there are proofs of the truth of those things that are discovered by them; and so far they are parts of reason, and have the same foundation with other persuasions in a man's mind, whereof his reason judges. If there be no proofs of them, they pass for nothing but mere imaginations of the fancy, how clearly soever they appear, or acceptable they may be to the mind. For it is not the clearness of the fancy, but the evidence of the truth of the thing, which makes the certainty. He that should pretend to have a clear sight of a Turkish paradise, and of an angel sent to direct him thither, might, perhaps, have a very clear imagination of all this; but it altogether no more proved that either there were such a place, or that an angel had the conduct of him thither, than if he saw all this in colours well drawn by a painter: these two pictures being no more different as to the appearance of any thing resembled by them, than that one is a fleeting draught in the imagination, the other a lasting one on a sensible body.

That which makes all the pretenders to supernatural illumination farther to be suspected to be merely the effect and operation of the fancy, is, that all the preparations and ways used to dispose the mind to those illuminations, and make it capable of them, are such as are apt to disturb and depress the rational power of the mind, and to advance and set on work the fancy; such are fasting, solitude, intense and long meditation on the same thing, opium, intoxicating liquors, long and vehement turning round, all which are used by some or other of those who would attain to those extraordinary discourses, as fit preparations of the mind to receive them, all which do really weaken and disturb the rational faculty, let loose the imagination, and thereby make the mind less steady in distinguishing betwixt truth and fancy.

I do not remember that I have read of any enthusiasts amongst the Americans, or any who have not pretended to a revealed religion, as all those before mentioned do; which if so, it naturally suggests this inquiry. Whether those that found their religion upon Revelation, do not from thence take occasion to imagine, that since God has been pleased by Revelation to discover to them the general precepts of their religion; they that have a particular interest in his favour have reason to expect that he will reveal Himself to them, if they take the right way to seek it in those things that concern them in particular, in reference to their conduct, state, or comfort; but of this I shall conclude nothing till I shall be more fully assured in matter-of-fact.

Enthusiasm is a fault in the mind opposite to brutish sensuality; as far in the other extreme exceeding the just measure of reason, as thoughts grovelling only in matter, and things of sense, come short of it.

April 20.—The usual physical proof (if I may so call it) of the immortality of the soul is this: matter cannot think, *ergo*, the soul is immaterial; nothing can really destroy an immaterial thing, *ergo*, the soul is really immaterial.

Those who oppose these men, press them very hard with the souls of beasts; for, say they, beasts feel and think, and therefore their souls are immaterial, and consequently immortal. This has by some men been judged so urgent, that they have rather thought fit to conclude all beasts perfect machines, rather than allow their souls immortality or annihilation, both which seem harsh doctrines; the one being out of the reach of Nature, and so cannot be received as the natural state of beasts after this life; the other equalling them, in a great measure, to the state of man, if they shall be immortal as well as he.

But methinks, if I may be permitted to say so, neither of these speak to the point in question, and perfectly mistake immortality; whereby is not meant a state of bare substantial existence and duration, but a state of sensibility; for that way that they use of proving the soul to be immortal, will as well prove the body to be so too; for since nothing can really destroy a material substance more than immaterial, the body will naturally endure as well as the soul for ever; and therefore, in the body they distinguish betwixt duration, and life, or sense, but not in the soul; supposing it in the body to depend on texture, and a certain union with the soul, but in the soul upon its indivisible and immutable constitution and essence; and so that it can no more cease to think and perceive, than it can cease to be immaterial or something. But this is manifestly false, and there is scarce a man that has not experience to the contrary every twenty-four hours. For I ask what sense or thought the soul (which is certainly then in a man) has during two or three hours of sound sleep without dreaming, whereby it is plain that the soul may exist or have duration for some time without sense or perception ; and if it may have for this hour, it may also have the same duration without pain or pleasure, or any thing else, for the next hour, and so to eternity ; so that to prove that immortality of the soul, simply because it being naturally not to be destroyed by any thing, it will have an eternal duration, which duration may be without any perception, which is to prove no other immortality of the soul than what belongs to one of Epicurus's atoms, viz. that it perpetually exists, but has no sense either of happiness or misery.

If they say, as some do, that the soul during a sound quiet sleep perceives and thinks, but remembers it not, one may, with as much certainty and evidence, say that the bed-post thinks and perceives too all the while, but remembers it not ; for I ask whether during this profound sleep the soul has any sense of happiness or misery? and if the soul should continue in that state to eternity, (with all that sense about it whereof it hath no consciousness nor memory,) whether there could be any such distinct state of heaven or hell, which we suppose to belong to souls after this life, and for which only we are concerned for and inquisitive after its immortality? and to this I leave every man to answer to his own self, viz. if he should continue to eternity in the same sound sleep he has sometimes been in, whether he would be ever a jot more happy or miserable during that eternity than the bedstead he lay on? Since, then, experience of what we find daily in sleep, and very frequently in swooning and apoplexy, &c. put it past doubt that the soul may subsist in a state of insensibility, without partaking in the least degree of happiness, misery, or any perception whatsoever, (and whether death, which the Scripture calls sleep, may not put the souls of some men at least into such a condition, I leave those who have well considered the story of Lazarus to conjecture,) shall establish the existence of the soul, will not, therefore, prove its being in a state of happiness or misery, since it is evident that perception is no more necessary to its being than motion is to the being of body. Let, therefore, spirit be in its own nature as durable as matter, that no power can destroy it but that Omnipotence that at first created it; they may both lie dead and inactive, the one without thought, the other without motion, a minute, an hour, or to eternity, which wholly depends upon the will and good pleasure of the first Author; and he that will not live conformable to such a future state, out of the undoubted certainty that God can, and the strong probability, amounting almost to certainty, that he will put the souls of men into a state of life or perception after the dissolution of their bodies, will hardly be brought to do it upon the force of positions, which are, by their own experience, daily contradicted, and will at best, if admitted for true, make the souls of beasts immortal as well as theirs.

"April 26th, 1682.—'Neque ante Philosophiam patefactam quæ nuper inventa est.'—Cicero. If Philosophy had been in Tully's time not long in the world, it is likely the world is not older than our account, since it is impossible to imagine that the world should be so old as some would reckon, much more that the generation of men should have been from eternity, and yet philosophy not be found out by the inquisitive mind of man till a little before Tully's time.

" 'Naturâ futura præsentiunt aut aquarum fluxiones aut deflagrationem futuram aliquando cœli atque terrarum,'—an old opinion, it seems, that the world should perish by fire.

" The loadstone itself, that we have reason to think is as old as the world, and is to be found plentifully in several parts of it, and very apt to make itself be taken notice of by so sensible and so surprising an effect as is its attraction of iron, and its steady adhesion to it; and can one imagine the busy inquisitive nature of man, in an infinite number of ages, should never by chance, or out of curiosity, observe that working and pointing to the north which that stone has in itself, and so readily communicates to iron? Can we think it reasonable to suppose that it required as long a duration as was from eternity to our great-grandfathers' days, to discover this useful quality in that common metal? in which it is so near natural, that almost every place has the virtue of a loadstone to produce it; our common utensils get it only by standing in our chimney-corners. And yet the discovery, when once made, does, by its proper use, so unavoidably spread itself over all the world, that nothing less than total extirpation of all mankind can ever possibly make it be forgotten.

"It is a matter of great admiration how the art of printing should be so many ages undiscovered, and how the ancients, who were skilled in graving on brass, should miss this great art of dispatch, when it was so natural to consider how easy it would be to imprint, in a moment, on paper, all those graved characters, which it would cost a great deal of time even first to write with a pen; though this thought never occurred in several ages; so fair a beginning was never improved into the art of printing till about 200 years since; yet eternity of the world could by no means admit so late a discovery of it, and it is impossible to imagine that men, in an infinite succession of generations, should not infinitely sooner have perfected so useful and obvious an invention, which when once brought to light, must needs continue to eternity, if the world should last so long."

Some of these last articles are selected from the journal subsequent to Locke's arrival in England, as may be observed from their dates; they have been arranged in their present order to prevent confusion. For some years after that period the journal contains very little except private memoranda, medical observations, extracts from books, and dates of the change of residence. There are occasionally notices of other things, such as the following:

"1681, March 1st. This day I saw Alice George, a woman, as she said, of 108 years old at Allhallow-tide last: she lived in St. Giles' parish, Oxford, and has lived in and about Oxford since she was a young woman; she was born at Saltwych, in Worcestershire; her father lived to eighty-three, her mother to ninety-six, and her mother's mother to 111. When she was young she was neither fat nor lean, but very slender in the waist; for her size she was to be reckoned rather amongst the tall than the short women; her condition was but mean, and her maintenance her labour. She said she was able to have reaped as much in a day as a man, and had as much wages; she was married at thirty, and had fifteen children, viz. ten sons and five daughters, besides five miscarriages; she has three sons still alive, her eldest, John, living next door to her, seventy-seven years old the 25th of this month. She goes upright with a staff in one hand, but I saw her stoop twice without resting upon any thing, taking up once a pot, and at another time her glove from the ground; her hearing is very good, and her smelling so quick, that as soon as she came near me, she said I smelt very sweet, I having a pair of new gloves on that were not strong scented; her eyes she complains of as failing her since her last sickness, which was an ague that seized her about two years since, and held her about a year; and yet she made a shift to thread a needle before us, though she seemed not to see the end of the thread very perfectly; she has as comely a face as ever I saw any old woman have, and age has neither made her deformed nor decrepit. The greatest part of her food now is bread and cheese, or bread and butter, and ale. Sack revives her when she can get it; for flesh she cannot now eat, unless it be roasting pig, which she loves. She had, she said, in her years a good stomach, and ate what came in her way, oftener wanting victuals than a stomach. Her memory and understanding perfectly good and quick. Amongst a great deal of discourse we had with her, and stories she told, she spoke not one idle or impertinent word. Before this last ague she used to go to church constantly, Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays; since that she walks not beyond her little garden. She has been ever since her being married troubled sometimes with vapours, and so is still; but never took any physic but once, about forty years since. She said she was sixteen in 1588, and went then to Worcester to see Queen Elizabeth, but came an hour too late, which agrees with her account of her age."

In this part of the journal there is at length an account of Captain Wood's reasons for, and observations on, his attempt of the North-west passage in 1676; it was grounded on the opinion of one William Barants, a Hollander, who attempted the passage in 1605, and it was then thought that an open sea would have been found at the Pole. After giving the authority and information of several Dutch captains, &c. "upon these considerations he set out in the Speedwell with sixty-eight men and boys, and a pink, called the Prosperous to attend her at the beginning of the voyage, May 28, 1676, from the buoy at the Nore; and on the 29th of June following, their ship split upon a ledge of rocks, at Nova Zembla, where they endured great hardships; being relieved and taken in by the Prosperous, they returned to the buoy at the Nore on the 23rd of August following."

* * * * *

"He (the Captain) conceives the Dutch relations are all false, lying pamphlets, and so also the relations of our own countrymen. He believes that if there be no land north of lat. 80, that the sea there is all frozen, &c. &c."

* * * * *

I shall conclude these extracts with the following little incident, belonging to an episcopal visitation in the century before the last.

"Monday, August 2nd, 1680. From Salisbury to Basingstoke, thirty miles; where being a visitation of the Bishops, Mr. Carter, who found it a long time now to the next presentment, sat drinking with his churchwardens next chamber to me, and after drink had well warmed them, a case of doctrine or discipline engaged them in a quarrel, which broke out into defiance and cuffs, and about midnight raised the house to keep the peace, but so fruitlessly, that between skirmishing, parleys, and loud defiances, the whole night was spent in noise and tumult, of which I had more than sleep. In the morning when I rose all was quiet, and the parson a-bed, where he was like to be kept past his ale and sleep, his gown having more of the honour of a tattered colours than a divinity robe!

The following directions appear to have been set down for some foreigner about to visit England. They are curious, as affording a comparison with the improvement of the present time.

"ENGLAND.—1679.

"The sports of England, which, perhaps, a curious stranger would be glad to see, are horse-racing, hawking, and hunting. Bowling. —At Marebone and Putney he may see several persons of quality bowling two or three times a week all the summer; wrestling, in Lincoln's Inne Field every evening all the summer; bear and bull-baiting, and sometime prizes, at the Bear-Garden; shooting in the long-bow and stob-ball, in Tothill Fields; cudgel-playing, in several places in the country; and hurling, in Cornwall.

"LONDON:—See the East India House, and their magazines; the Custom House; the Thames, by water, from London Bridge to Deptford; and the King's yard at Deptford; the sawing-windmill; Tradescant's garden and closet; Sir James Morland's closet and water-works; the iron mills at Wandsworth, four miles above London, upon the Thames; or rather those in Sussex; Paradise by Hatton Garden; the glass-house at the Savoy, and at Vauxhall. Eat fish in Fish Street, especially lobsters, Colchester oysters, and a fresh cod's-head. The veal and beef are excellent good in London; the mutton better in several counties in England. A venison pasty and a chine of beef are good every where; and so are crammed capons and fat chickens. Railes and heath-polts, ruffs, and reeves, are excellent meat wherever they can be met with. Puddings of several sorts, and creams of several fashions, both excellent, but they are seldom to be found, at least in their perfection, at common eating-houses. Mango and saio are two sorts of sauces brought from the East Indies. Bermuda oranges and potatoes, both exceeding good in their kind. Chedder and Cheshire cheese.

"Men excellent in their Arts:—

"Mr. Cox, in Long Acre, for all sorts of dioptrical glasses.

"Mr. Opheel, near the Savoy, for all sorts of machines.

"Mr.———, for a new invention he has, and teaches to copy all sorts of pictures, plans, or to take prospects of places.

"The King's gunsmith, at the Yard by Whitehall.

"Mr. Not, in the Pall Mall, for binding of books.

"The Fire-eater.

"At an ironmonger's, near the May-pole, in the Strand, is to be found a great variety of iron instruments, and utensils of all kinds.

"At Bristol see the Hot-well; St. George's Cave, where the Bristol diamonds are found; Ratcliff Church; and at Kingwood the coal-pits. Taste there Milford oysters, marrow-puddings, cock-ale, metheglin, white and red muggets, elvers, sherry, sack, (which, with sugar, is called Bristol milk;) and some other wines, which, perhaps, you will not drink so good at London.

"At Glocester observe the whispering place in the Cathedral.

"At Oxford see all the colleges, and their libraries; the schools, and public library; and the physic-garden. Buy there knives and gloves, especially white kid-skin; and the cuts of all the colleges graved by Loggins.

"If you go into the North, see the Peak in Derbyshire, described by Hobbs, in a Latin poem, called 'Mirabilia Pecci.'

"Home-made drinks of England are beer and ale, strong and small; those of most note, that are to be sold, are Lambeth ale, Margaret ale, and Derby ale; Herefordshire cider, perry, mede. There are also several sorts of compounded ales, as cock-ale, worm-wood ale, lemon-ale, scurvygrass-ale, College-ale, &c. These are to be had at Hercules Pillars, near the Temple; at the Trumpet, and other houses in Sheer Lane, Bell Alley; and, as I remember, at the English Tavern near Charing Cross.

"Foreign drinks to be found in England are all sorts of Spanish, Greek, Italian, Rhenish, and other wines, which are to be got up and down at several taverns. Coffé, thé, and chocolate, at coffee-houses. Mum at the mum houses, and other places; and Molly, a drink of Barbadoes, by chance at some Barbadoes merchants. Punch, a compounded drink, on board some West India ships; and Turkish sherbet amongst the merchants.

"Manufactures of cloth, that will keep out rain; flanel, knives, locks and keys; scabbards for swords; several things wrought in steel, as little boxes, heads for canes, boots, riding-whips, Rippon spurs, saddles, &c.

"At Nottingham dwells a man who makes fans, hatbands, necklaces, and other things of glass, drawn out into very small threads."

Locke arrived in London from the Continent on the 8th of May, as has been before-mentioned. He had perhaps prolonged intentionally his residence at Paris, to avoid witnessing the folly and fury of his friends in England on the subject of the Popish Plot. It is indeed very probable that the two following reflections in his Journal, which he wrote whilst at Paris, were suggested by the state, I will not say of public opinion, but of public fury in England. His words are "Where power and not the good exercise of it give reputation, all the injustice, falsehood, violence, and oppression that attains that, (power) goes for wisdom and ability;" and again, "Religions are upheld and factions maintained, and the shame of being disesteemed by those with whom one hath lived, and to whom one would recommend oneself, is the great source and direction of most of the actions of men."

On his return to England, this observation is found in his Journal.

"June 17th, 1679.—Opinion. A thinking and considerate man cannot believe any thing with a firmer assent than is due to the evidence and validity of those reasons on which it is founded; yet the greatest part of men not examining the probability of things in their own nature, nor the testimony of those who are their vouchers, take the common belief or opinion of those of their country, neighbourhood, or party to be proof enough, and so believe, as well as live by fashion and example; and these men are zealous Turks as well as Christians." It is evident from these notes, that the writer partook not of the popular phrensy which had so long prevailed in England, and had not as yet entirely subsided.

The same asthmatic complaint which had induced him to leave England in 1675, was now an obstacle to any long-continued residence in London, and obliged him to pass the winter season for the most part, either at Oxford or in the West. This absence must have been a subject of regret, since Shaftesbury, who had recalled him from France, was now either in power, or deeply engaged in the politics of that eventful period.

The events of Locke's life henceforward became so much connected with the history of the time, that it will be necessary to give a short outline of the political transactions which ended in the triumph of the Court, and enabled Charles II. to trample on the liberties of his country.

The Parliament which had originally been chosen in 1661, that pensioned Parliament as it was called, that obedient and subservient Parliament as it certainly was, beginning at last to manifest distrust of the King, was after a long life dissolved in December 1678, and the next Parliament, which met in March 1679, proving equally unmanageable, the King determined by the advice of Temple, to call some of the popular leaders to his Council, of which Shaftesbury was made President. It did not escape the penetration of that great politician, that he never possessed more than the appearance of Court favour. He resolved, therefore, although in the King's cabinet, to adhere to the popular party by strongly supporting the Bills for the exclusion of the Duke of York, or those for the limitation of his power, which were frequently urged forward by the popular leaders in Parliament. He was also mainly instrumental in passing the Habeas Corpus Act, a measure particularly obnoxious to the Court.

A new Parliament having been chosen, the King, who, with all the Tory party, looked with great apprehension to the expected meeting, determined by his own act, without the concurrence of his Council, *proprio motu*, to prevent its assembling by a prorogation. He knew well, that he should be opposed by the popular leaders whom he had admitted to his Council, and therefore decided without their advice. Upon this, Lord Russell resigned in disgust, and Shaftesbury quitted his office of President of the Council.

After dissolutions, and new Parliaments in rapid succession, the Parliament which was summoned to meet at Oxford 1680, was the last that was allowed to assemble in the reign of Charles II. The country party had a decided majority in the election of the members of that House of Commons; and even in the county of Oxford it seems that all the four candidates were on that side. The chief difficulty therefore, for the leaders of the country party, was a proper choice of friends, as appears by a letter from Shaftesbury to Locke on the subject of the elections.

"MR. LOCKE, Feb. 19th, 1681.

"I am extremely obliged to you, and so are all the rest of the Lords, for the trouble we have put you to. This bearer comes from us all, to take possession of our allotments in Baliol College, and to provide things necessary. He is ordered in the first place, to address himself to you.

"We are told here, that you have four very worthy men stand for Knights of the county of Oxford. 'Tis unhappy that we should make trouble and expense amongst ourselves; the two last Knights were very worthy men, and therefore 'tis much wished here, that you or some other worthy person, should persuade Sir Philip Harcourt and Sir John Norris to sit down. Those that deserved well in the last Parliament ought in right to have the preference; and at this rate of Parliaments, I wish all our friends have not more than time enough to be weary. I shall trouble you no further at present.

"I am
Your most affectionate friend and servant,
SHAFTESBURY."

If the only difficulty which the country party at that time had, was to make the best selection of members most friendly to their cause; if the temper of the Commons was generally adverse to the Court, and there is no reason to doubt that it was so, since the Exclusion Bill, and all the other obnoxious measures were pressed on in Parliament with much activity,—the triumph which the King gained in the course of the next two years after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament is the more extraordinary. He had, we know, the powerful assistance of the Church, acting in perfect union zealously to enforce and firmly to establish in practice the slavish principles contained in their famous manifesto of passive obedience and non-resistance. Then began the campaign of judicial murders, which continued without remorse or pity to the end of the reign of Charles II. Argyle, Russell, and Sydney, fell martyrs to the vindictive spirit of the Court. Shaftesbury was indicted of high treason, but was saved by a verdict of ignoramus given by the Grand Jury. He was indebted for his escape much more to the contrivance of his friends than to the fairness of a Court of Justice. Hume, who cannot be supposed to be favourable to him, says, "that as far as swearing could go, the treason was clearly proved against Shaftesbury; or rather so clearly as to merit no kind of credit or attention. That veteran leader of a party, inured from his youth to faction and intrigue, to cabals and conspiracies, was represented as opening without reserve, his treasonable intentions to these obscure banditti, and throwing out such violent and outrageous reproaches upon the King, as none but men of low education like themselves could be supposed to employ."

This was the last defeat which the Court sustained: the sheriffs, after this time, were appointed by the Crown, the juries packed, and writs of Quo Warranto issued against the corporations throughout England. As it was evidently unsafe for any person, who had incurred the displeasure of the Court, to remain within its power, Shaftesbury* made his retreat to Holland at the end of the year 1682. Locke, who had so long been connected with him, and had been so much trusted by him, thought it more prudent to take refuge also in Holland about the end of August 1683.

Lord Russell had already been executed, and as preparations were at that very time making for the trial, or what is the same thing, the execution of Sydney, it was evident that no person, who had been connected with Shaftesbury and that party, however innocent he might be, could consider himself safe, so long as he remained within the reach of a vindictive Court, whose will was law, and whose judges were often its degraded advocates, and always the instruments of its vengeance.

Nothing perhaps can more clearly prove the unscrupulous atrocity and violence of those unhappy times, than the form of Prayer, or rather of commination, against the country party, ordered by the King's proclamation to be read, together with his declaration, in all the churches on the 9th of September, 1683. It is indeed lamentable to observe that the Church of England then made herself the willing handmaid of a bloody Government, exciting the passions of the congregations, and through them inflaming the juries before the trials of all the accused were finished.* The following composition may be presumed to be the pious production of the heads of our Church at that time, though from its tone and spirit, it should seem rather to have proceeded from the mouth of the Mufti and the Ulema than from the Bishops and rulers of the Christian Church of England.

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* Shaftesbury died shortly after his arrival in Holland, and was buried at St. Giles's, in Dorsetshire, Feb. 26, 1683, where Locke attended the funeral of his patron and his friend.

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* After the commitment of Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney, Hampden, the grandson of the great Hampden, was by the Council committed also to the Tower, charged with high treason; but as only one witness, Lord Howard, could be procured to appear against him, he was arraigned on a charge of misdemeanor, on the 28th of November, 1684, and grievously fined. He was afterwards tried for high treason, that is, tried a second time for the same offence, when the Court had procured the other witness, Lord Grey.

Sir Thomas Armstrong was murdered by form of law in June 1684. Lord Melven, Sir J. Cochrane, Robert Ferguson, and thirteen or fourteen others, were named in the King's Declaration as having escaped from justice, all charged with the same treason as Russell and Sydney.

The Prayer is taken from the authorised copy printed by the King's printer.

"His Majestie's Declaration to all his loveing subjects concerning the treasonable conspiracy against his sacred person and government, appointed to be read in all churches:

"CHARLES REX.—It has been our observation that for several years last past a malevolent party has made it their business to promote sedition by libellous pamphlets, and other wicked arts, to render our government odious, &c. &c.

"But it pleased God to open the eyes of our good subjects, &c. &c.

* * * * *

And convince the common people of the villainous designs of their factious leaders, &c."

* * * * *

Then, afer reciting the preparations and design of shooting into the coach where "our Royal Person and our dearest Brother were, and that such was the abundant mercy of Almighty God, that a discovery was made unto us on the 12th of July last, we have used the best means we could for the detection and prevention of so hellish a conspiracy: but it so happened that divers having notice of warrants issued for their apprehension have fled from justice, Sir Thomas Armstrong, &c. &c.; others have been taken, some of whom, the Lord William Russell, Thomas Walcot, William Hone, and John Rouse, have, upon their trials, been convicted, attainted, and executed, according to law. This we thought fit to make known to our loving subjects, that they being sensible (as we are) of the mercy of God in the great deliverance, may cheerfully and devoutly joyn with us in returning solemn thanks to Almighty God for the same. We do appoint the 9th day of September next to be observed as a day of thanksgiving, &c. in a form of prayer, which we have commanded to be prepared by our Bishops, and published for that purpose.—*At Court of Whitehall, 27th July,* 1683.

"A FORM OF PRAYER, &c. to be solemnly observed in all Churches, in due acknowledgment of God's wonderful providence and mercy in discovering and defeating the late treasonable conspiracy against his Majesty's person and government." Then after Exhortation, Psalms, &c.:

"Almighty God and Heavenly Father, who of thine unspeakable goodness towards us hast, in a most extraordinary manner discovered the designs and disappointed the attempts of those traitorous, heady, and high-minded men, who, under the pretence of religion, and thy most holy name, had contrived and resolved our destruction; as we do this day most heartily and devoutly adore and magnify thy glorious name for this thine infinite gracious goodness already vouchsafed to us, so we most humbly implore the continuance of thy grace and favour for the farther and clearer discovery of these depths of Satan, this mystery of iniquity. Send forth thy light and thy truth, and make known the hidden things of darkness; infatuate and defeat all the secret counsels of the ungodly, abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices: strengthen the hands of our gracious King Charles, and all that are put in authority under him, with judgment and justice to cut off all such workers of iniquity, as turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction, that they may never prevail against us, or triumph in the ruin of thy Church amongst us. To this end protect and defend our Sovereign Lord the King and the whole Royal Family, from all treasons and conspiracies. Bind up his soul in the bundle of life, and let no weapon formed against him prosper: be unto him a helmet of salvation, and a strong tower of defence, against the face of his enemies: let his reign be prosperous, and his days many: make him glad now according to the time wherein thou hast afflicted him, and for the years wherein he has suffered adversity: as thou hast given him the necks of his enemies, so give him also every day more and more the hearts of his subjects. As for those that are implacable, clothe them with shame; but upon himself and his posterity let the crown for ever flourish: so we that are thy people, and the sheep of thy pasture, shall give thee thanks for ever, and will always be showing forth thy praise from generation to generation, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Redeemer. Amen."

"Almighty God, who hast in all ages showed forth thy power and mercy in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of thy Church, and in the protection of righteous and religious Kings, and States professing thy holy and eternal truth, from the malicious conspiracies and wicked practices of all their enemies, we yield unto thee, from the very bottom of our hearts, unfeigned thanks and praise for the late signal and wonderful deliverance of our most gracious Sovereign, his Royal Brother, and loyal subjects of all orders and degrees, by the fanatic rage and treachery of wicked and ungodly men appointed as sheep to the slaughter, in a most barbarous and savage manner. From their unnatural and hellish conspiracy, not our merit but thy mercy, not our foresight but thy providence, not our own arm but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, hath rescued and delivered us, even because thou hast a favour unto us: and, therefore, not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name, be ascribed all honour, glory, and praise, with most humble and hearty thanks in all Churches of the Saints; even so, blessed be the Lord our God, who only doeth wondrous things, and blessed be the name of his Majesty for ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. Amen."

"O God, whose providence neglects not the meanest of thy creatures, but is most illustriously visible in watching over the persons of Kings, the great instruments of thy goodness to mankind, we give thee most hearty thanks and praises, as for the many wonderful deliverances formerly vouchsafed to thy servant, our dread Sovereign, through the whole course of his life; so especially for the late miracle of thy mercy, whereby thou didst rescue him and us all from those bloody designs, which nothing but thine infinite wisdom and power could have discovered and defeated. For this thy great goodness (notwithstanding our great unworthiness and many provocations) so graciously continued to us, we praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory: humbly beseeching thee that our present sense of this thy favour, and the fervent affections now kindled in our hearts thereby, may never cool, or sink down into forgetfulness or ingratitude; but may produce in every one of us firm resolutions of future thankfulness and obedience, with a suitable constant perseverance in the same. Let us never forget, how often, and how wonderfully thou hast preserved thine anointed and his people: that being all duly sensible of our absolute dependence upon thee, we may endeavour to answer the blessed ends of this thy good providence over us. Continue him a nursing father to this thy church, and thy minister for good to all his people; and let us and all his subjects look upon him henceforth not only as the ordinance, but as the gift of God, promising and performing, in thee and for thee, all faithful duty and loyalty to him and his heirs after him: with a religious obedience and thankfulness unto thee, for these and all other thy mercies, through Jesus Christ thy son our Lord: to whom with thee, O Father, and God the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory."

In the evening service, this additional prayer for our enemies:

"Father of mercies and lover of souls, who art kind to the unthankful and to the evil, and hast commanded us also to extend our charity even to those that hate us, and despitefully use us: we beseech thee as to accept our prayers and praises, which we have this day offered up unto thee in behalf of all that are faithful and loyal in the land; so also to enlarge thy mercy and pity, even to those that are our enemies. O most wise and powerful Lord God, in whose hands are the hearts of all men, as the rivers of water to turn them whithersoever thou wilt; work mightily upon the minds of all parties amongst us. Turn the hearts of the children to the fathers, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; and so make them a ready people prepared for the Lord. Thou that sitteth between the cherubim be the earth never so unquiet, thou that stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of the people: stir up thy strength and come and, help us; let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end. Take away his ungodliness and thou shalt find none: let the fierceness of man turn to thy praise, and the remainder of wrath do thou restrain. To this end take from them all their prejudices and all their passions; their confident mistakes, their carnal ends, and their secular interests. Open the blind eyes that they may see (at least in this their day) the things which belong to their peace, and wisely considering thy work, may say, This hath God done; and so hear, and fear, and do no more wickedly. Soften the most obdurate hearts into a meek, and humble, and docile temper, that they may no longer resist the truth. Bow down the stiff neck and the iron sinew to the gentle and easy yoke of thy most holy law! take away the brass from the whore's forehead, and make their faces ashamed, that they may seek thy name. Redouble, O Lord, the joys of this day, that we may not only triumph in the disappointment of their wicked imaginations, but with thy holy angels rejoice in their conversion. Amen!!!"

The following paper conceived in the same or even in a worse spirit, may be considered to be the echo of the royal declaration.

DEVON SESSION.

"Ad General. Quarterial. Session. Pacis Dom. Regis tent. apud Castr. Exon. in et pro Comitat præd. secundo die Octobris, Anno Regni Dom. nostri Caroli Secundi Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Regis, Fidei Defensor. &c. tricessimo quinto, Annoque Dom. 1683.

"We have been so abundantly convinced of the seditious and rebellious practices of the sectaries and fanatics, who through the course of above one hundred years, since we were first infested with 'em, have scarce afforded this unhappy kingdom any interval of rest from their horrid treasons, as that we must esteem 'em, not only the open enemies of our established Government, but to all the common principles of society and humanity itself. Wherefore that we may prevent their horrid conspiracies for the time to come, and secure (as much as in us lies) our most gracious King and the Government from the fury and malice of 'em, we resolve to put the severest of the laws (which we find too easie and gentle, unless enlivened by a vigorous execution) in force against 'em.

"1. We agree and resolve, in every division of this county, to require sufficient sureties for the good bearing and peaceable behaviour of all such as we may justly suspect, or that we can receive any credible information against, that they have been at any conventicles and unlawful meetings, or at any factious or seditious clubs; or that have, by any discourses, discovered themselves to be disaffected to the present established government, either in church or state; or that have been the authors or publishers of any seditious libels; or that shall not, in all things, duly conform themselves to the present established government.

" 2. Because we have a sort of false men, and more perfidious than professed phanatiques, who either wanting courage to appear in their own shape, or the better to bring about their treasonable designs, privately associate with and encourage the seditious clubs of the sectaries, and with them plot heartily against the Government; and yet that they may pass unsuspected, sometimes appear in the church with a false show of conformity, only to save their money, and the better to serve their faction: that we may, if possible, distinguish and know all such dangerous enemies, we will strictly require all the churchwardens and constables, at all our monthly meetings, to give us a full account of all such as do not, every Sunday, resort to their own parish churches, and are not at the beginning of divine service, and do not behave themselves orderly and soberly there, observing all such decent ceremonies as the laws enjoyn: and that they likewise present unto us the names of all such as have not received the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in their own parish churches thrice a year.

"3. Being fully satisfied, as well by the clear evidence of the late horrid plot as by our own long and sad experience, that the Nonconformist preachers are the authors and fomenters of this pestilent faction, and the implacable enemies of the established Government, and to whom the late execrable treasons, which have had such dismal effects in this kingdom, are principally to be imputed, and who by their present obstinate refusing to take and subscribe an oath and declaration, That they do not hold it lawful to take up arms against the King, and that they will not endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or state; do necessarily enforce us to conclude that they are still ready to engage themselves (if not actually engaged) in some rebellious conspiracy against the King, and to invade and subvert his government; wherefore we resolve, in every parish of this county, to leave strict warrants in the hands of all constables for the seizing of such persons. And as an encouragement to all officers and others that shall be instrumental in the apprehending of any of them, so as they may be brought to justice, we will give and allow forty shillings, as a reward, for every Nonconformist preacher that shall be so secured. And we resolve to prosecute them, and all other such dangerous enemies of the government, and common absenters from church and frequenters of conventicles, according to the directions of a law made in the five and thirtieth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, intituled An Act for the Keeping her Majesties Subjects in due obedience.*

"Lastly. That we may never forget the infinite mercies of Almighty God in the late wonderful deliverance of our gracious King and his dearest brother, and all his loyal subjects, (who were designed for a massacre) from the horrid conspiracy of the phanatiques and their accomplices; and that we may perpetuate as well our own thankfulness as their infamy, that the generations to come may know their treachery, and avoid and never trust men of such principles more; and also that we ourselves may perform our public duty to Almighty God before we enter upon the public service of our country; we order, resolve, and agree, with the advice and concurrence of the Right Reverend Father in God, our much honoured and worthy Lord Bishop, to give and bestow, for the beautifying of the chappel in the castle of Exon, and for the erecting of decent seats there, ten pounds. And we will likewise give and continue six pounds, to be paid yearly to any one of the church of Exon, whom the said Lord Bishop shall appoint to read the divine service, with the prayers lately appointed for the day of Thanksgiving on the ninth of September last, and to preach a sermon, exhorting to obedience in the said chappel, on the first day of every general quarter sessions of the peace, held in the said castle, to begin precisely at eight of the clock in the morning. And may the mercies of Heaven, which are infinite, always protect our religious and gracious King, his dearest brother, and every branch of that royal family; and may all the treasonable conspiracies of those rebellious schismaticks be always thus happily prevented!

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* By this act any person above the age of sixteen, who shall obstinately refuse to repair to some church, or any person who shall persuade any other person to forbear or abstain from coming to church, or be present at any conventicle, shall be committed to prison, and remain there until they conform; and unless they conform within three months, shall abjure the realm, or be adjudged a felon.

"That the continued care of his Majesties justices of the peace for the county of Devon, for the safety of his Majesties sacred person, the preservation of the publick peace, and advancement of true religion, may be fuller known and have a better effect, I do hereby order and require all the clergy of my diocess within the county of Devon, deliberately to publish this order the next Sunday after it shall be tendred to them.*

"THO. EXON.

"Hugo Vaughan, Cler. Pacis Com. præd."

In 1684, Locke was by an illegal order of the King deprived of his studentship at Christchurch. The account given in Mr. Fox's history is as follows:—

"Among the oppressions of this period, most of which were attended with consequences so much more important to the several objects of persecution, it may seem scarcely worth while to notice the expulsion of J. Locke from Christ-church College, Oxford. But besides the interest which every incident in the life of a person so deservedly eminent naturally excites, there appears to have been something in the transaction itself characteristic of the spirit of the times, as well as of the general nature of absolute power. Mr. Locke was known to have been intimately connected with Lord Shaftesbury, and had very prudently judged it advisable for him to prolong for some time his residence upon the Continent, to which he had resorted originally on account of his health. A suspicion, as it has been since proved unfounded, that he was the author of a pamphlet which gave offence to the Government, induced the King to insist upon his removal from his studentship at Christ-church. Sunderland writes, by the King's command, to Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, and Dean of Christ-church. The Reverend Prelate answers, that he has long had an eye upon Mr. Locke's behaviour; but though frequent attempts had been made (attempts of which the Bishop expresses no disapprobation) to draw him into imprudent conversation, by attacking in his company the reputation, and insulting the memory, of his late patron and friend, and thus to make his gratitude, and all the best feelings of his heart, instrumental to his ruin, these attempts all proved unsuccessful. Hence the Bishop infers not the innocence of Mr. Locke, but that he was a great master of concealment, both as to words and looks; for looks, it is to be supposed, would have furnished a pretext for his expulsion, more decent than any which had yet been discovered. An expedient is then suggested to drive Mr. Locke to a dilemma, by summoning him to attend the College on the 1st of January ensuing. If he do not appear, he shall be expelled for contumacy; if he come, matter of charge may be found against him, for what he shall have said at London, or elsewhere, where he will have been less upon his guard than at Oxford. Some have ascribed Fell's hesitation, if it can be so called, in executing the King's order, to his unwillingness to injure Locke, who was his friend; others, with more reason, to the doubt of the legality of the order. However this may have been, neither his scruples nor his reluctance was regarded by a Court which knew its own power. A peremptory order was accordingly sent, and immediate obedience ensued. Thus while, without the shadow of a crime, Mr. Locke lost a situation attended with some emolument and great convenience, was the University deprived of, or rather thus, from the base principles of servility, did she cast away, the man, the having produced whom is now her chiefest glory; and thus to those who are not determined to be blind, did the true nature of absolute power discover itself, against which the middling station is not more secure than the most exalted. Tyranny, when glutted with the blood of the great and the plunder of the rich, will condescend to hunt humbler game, and make the peaceable and innocent Fellow of a College the object of its persecution. In this instance, one would almost imagine there was some instinctive sagacity in the Government of that time, which pointed out to them, even before he had made himself known to the world, the man who was destined to be the most successful adversary of superstition and tyranny."

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* If such principles were generally prevalent, the Letters on Toleration were indeed necessary.

On a careful examination of the whole case, and with the light* since thrown upon it, it appears that Locke was not expelled by the University of Oxford; he was deprived of his studentship by the Dean and Chapter of the College to which he belonged. If, however, we acquit the University of any direct share in the transaction, we may not unfairly conclude, from the spirit and temper then prevalent at Oxford, that the University was accessory to that disgraceful deed. The famous Oxford decree, it must be remembered, had passed on the very day of the execution of Lord Russell. The divine rights of Kings, and the indiscriminate obedience of subjects, were the favourite tenets of the University, which, by a solemn decree, condemned as impious and heretical, the principles upon which the constitution of this, and of every free country, maintains itself. The deprivation of Locke was, strictly speaking, the act of the Dean and Chapter of Christ-church, courting, and almost anticipating, the illegal mandate of the Crown, and is not to be described as an actual expulsion from the University of Oxford.

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* Oxford and Locke, by Lord Grenville.

It is true, Lord Sunderland, in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford and Dean of Christ-church, signifies the King's commands for the immediate expulsion of Mr. Locke, as one who had belonged to the Earl of Shaftesbury, and had behaved himself very factiously and undutifully towards the Government. The Bishop also, in his answer, uses the word expulsion, incorrectly certainly, but what better phrase could he have selected to flatter a despotic Court, which had determined to punish all whom it chose to consider as its enemies?

Correspondence between the Earl of Sunderland and the Bishop of Oxford respecting Mr. Locke:

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.

"MY LORD, Whitehall, Nov. 6, 1684.

"THE King being given to understand that one Mr. Locke, who belonged to the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and has upon several occasions behaved himself very factiously and undutifully to the Government, is a student of Christchurch; his Majesty commands me to signify to your Lordship, that he would have him removed from being a student, and that, in order thereunto, your Lordship would let me know the method of doing it.

"I am, my Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND."

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

"RIGHT HON. Nov. 8, 1684.

"I HAVE received the honour of your Lordship's letter, wherein you are pleased to enquire concerning Mr. Locke's being a student of this house, of which I have this account to render; that he being, as your Lordship is truly informed, a person who was much trusted by the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and who is suspected to be ill-affected to the Government, I have for divers years had an eye upon him, but so close has his guard been on himself, that after several strict enquiries, I may confidently affirm there is not any one in the College, however familiar with him, who has heard him speak a word either against, or so much as concerning the government; and although very frequently, both in public and in private, discourses have been purposely introduced, to the disparagement of his master, the Earl of Shaftesbury, his party, and designs, he could never be provoked to take any notice, or discover in word or look the least concern; so that I believe there is not in the world such a master of taciturnity and passion. He has here a physician's place, which frees him from the exercise of the college, and the obligation which others have to residence in it, and he is now abroad upon want of health; but notwithstanding that, I have summoned him to return home, which is done with this prospect, that if he comes not back, he will be liable to expulsion for contumacy; if he does, he will be answerable to your Lordship for what he shall be found to have done amiss; it being probable that though he may have been thus cautious here, where he knew himself to be suspected, he has laid himself more open in London, where a general liberty of speaking was used, and where the execrable designs against his Majesty, and his Government, were managed and pursued. If he does not return by the 1st day of January next, which is the time limited to him, I shall be enabled of course to proceed against him to expulsion. But if this method seem not effectual or speedy enough, and his Majesty, our founder and visitor, shall please to command his immediate remove, upon the receipt thereof, directed to the Dean and Chapter, it shall accordingly be executed by

My Lord, your Lordship's
Most humble and obedient servant,
J. Oxon."

TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

"MY LORD, Whitehall, Nov. 10, 1684.

"HAVING communicated your Lordship's of the 8th to his Majesty, he has thought fit to direct me to send you the enclosed, concerning his commands for the immediate expulsion of Mr. Locke. SUNDERLAND."

"TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, JOHN LORD BISHOP OF OXON, DEAN OF CHRIST-CHURCH, AND OUR TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED THE CHAPTER THERE.

"Right Reverend Father in God, and trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have received information of the factious and disloyal behaviour of Locke, one of the students of that our College; we have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you forthwith remove him from his student's place, and deprive him of all the rights and advantages thereunto belonging, for which this shall be your warrant; and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, 11th day of November, 1684.

"By his Majesty's command,

SUNDERLAND."

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

"RIGHT HON. November 16, 1684.

"I HOLD myself bound in duty to signify to your Lordship, that his Majesty's command for the expulsion of Mr. Locke from the College is fully executed. J. OXON."

TO THE BISHOP OF OXON.

"MY LORD,

"I HAVE your Lordship's of the 16th, and have acquainted his Majesty therewith, who is well satisfied with the College's ready obedience to his commands for the expulsion of Mr. Locke. SUNDERLAND."

The meanness of Fell's (the Bishop of Oxford) conduct was certainly never exceeded, seeing by his own unblushing confession, that he had been instrumental in laying snares for the destruction of one who was a member of his own college, and to whom he stood therefore in the relation of a father; and of one with whom he had lived in habits of friendship during the time of his prosperity: as a proof of which one or two amongst many letters from the same hand, and in the same phrases of friendship, are here inserted.

TO HIS ESTEEMED FRIEND MR. JOHN LOCKE,
AT THANET HOUSE, IN ALDERSGATE STREET.

"SIR, June 1, 1680.

"You are not to excuse your address by letter as if it could give a trouble to me; I assure you I have that respect and friendship for you, that I should have been glad to have heard from you, although you had no other business than to let me know you were in health, especially since you left this place in such a condition as might make your friends apprehensive for you. As to the proposal concerning books, we have two years since quit our hands of our stock to men of trade, so that the interest is now with those we dealt with. I have spoke this morning with one of them, Mr. Pitt, who within few days will be in London, and will there attend upon you; he seems to approve of the terms offered, so that I presume he will close with them. I have no more to add at present, but desire that when you write to Monsieur Justell, you would represent the esteem I have for him. Let me also desire you to be assured that I am your

Affectionate friend,
JOHN OXON."

From the same affectionate friend, of an earlier date, indorsed 1675.

"SIR, Nov. 8.

"I AM sorry for the occasion of your voyage, but wish you success in it, and by no means expect you should add to it, by a journey hither upon the score of ceremony. It is that which I by no means expect from my friends, and I hope the rest of the Chapter are of the same mind. When we have occasion to meet next, I shall propose your concern to the company, and with my affectionate remembrances, remain, Sir,

Your assured friend and servant,

J. FELL."

And many others letters directed to the worthily esteemed John Locke, Esq. at Thanet House, in Aldersgate Street.

Of the illegality of the proceeding there can now be no doubt; the visitatorial power of the Crown can only be executed by the Lord Chancellor; and the King, like every other visitor, is bound, before he pronounces sentence against any party, to hear him, or at least to cite him, and give him an opportunity of being heard. It is but fair, however, to add, that, at the time of the transaction alluded to, the rights and powers of visitors were much more loose and unsettled than at present. The leading decision on the visitatorial power (the Exeter College case) took place many years afterwards, and the necessity of a visitor's acting strictly and properly, in that capacity, was not finally established before the case of the King and the Bishop of Ely.

Resistance was, however, made even at Oxford a few years later, but it was at a time when the rights and privileges, not of an obnoxious individual, but of the whole ecclesiastical order were attacked; at a time when the blind despot, then on the throne, fortunately aimed his blows, not only against the liberties of his country, but against the Church itself, and broke the terms of the secret articles, offensive and defensive, so well understood at all other times between the parties concerned, which are inferred in the union of Church and State.

When I say it was fortunate that James II. aimed his blows against the Church, which secured her assistance in the work of the Revolution, I by no means express an opinion that the gentlemen of England were so dead to all feelings of patriotism, that they would have surrendered their liberties for ever without a struggle. That country which, in the preceding age, had produced a Hampden, a Pym, a Coke, and a Hutchinson, would doubtless have burst asunder the bonds of tyranny, even without the assistance of the Established Church, although the effort might have cost a second civil war.

The persecution which had driven Locke from his country, the tyranny which had illegally deprived him of his situation at Oxford, did not cease after his retreat to Holland; the King's minister at the Hague demanded amongst several others named in his memorial, that Locke should be delivered up, describing him as secretary to the late Earl of Shaftesbury, a state crime worthy of such extraordinary interposition.

Mémoire présenté par Monsieur Schelton, Envoyé Extraordinaire de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne à Messeigneurs les Estats Généraux.

HAUT ET PUISSANTS SEIGNEURS,

Vos Seigneuries ayant fait sçavoir il y a trois jours au sousigné Envoyé Extraordinaire de sa Majesté le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, la réso-

lution qu'elles avoyent prise de bannir tous les sujets rebelles du Roi son maître des terres de leur domination, sur les réprésentations que sa Majesté avait faites aux Ambassadeurs de cet Estat, le susdit Envoyé Extraordinaire auroit eu lieu de se contenter en partie des esgards que vos Seigneuries avoyent tesmoigné pour sa Majesté en cette rencontre s'il n'en eut reçu des ordres exprès de réprésenter à vos Seigneuries qu'elle apprend avec un très sensible deplaisir que tant de ses sujets rebelles (dont les noms sont si dessous spécifiés) se sont refugiés dans les provinces de vostre obeissance, lesquels se sont attiré sa juste indignation et colère, en ce que contre la foy et l'obéissance qu'ils doivent à leur souverain, ils ont conspiré contre la vie de sa sacrée personne, contre le gouvernement dont le bouleversement a fait depuis assez long temps le but de leurs dessins, et qu'ils ne se lassent de former tous les jours de nouveaux projets de trahison et d'infamie, et de déchirer la renommée et la gloire de sa Majesté par toutes sortes de papiers diffamatoires qu'ils font imprimer et distribuer en ces pays. Or sa Majesté voyant le danger auquel sa sacrée personne est exposée, tant que ces traîtres et fils dénaturés de leur patrie trouvent un azile dans les provinces de vos Seigneuries, où ces scélérats par la grande facilité continuent à corréspondre avec ceux de leur party en Angleterre et en Ecosse, et à s'assembler et consulter sur la destruction du repos et de la prospérité des royaumes de sa Majesté, elle se persuade que vos Seigneuries non seulement les en chasseront, mais aussi les saisiront et envoyeront en Angleterre conformement à leur propre déclaration faite sur ce sujet. Et certes, il semble que l'amitié, que de droit et d'intéret de bons voisins doivent les uns aux autres, ne le demande pas seulement, mais il y a des raisons bien plus fortes, à sçavoir des traités entre sa Majesté et cet estat, qui luy donnent ces prétentions, outre que la prosperité de leur estat, à laquelle sa Majesté prend tant de part, depend de celle des affaires du Roi. Et c'est pourquoi le susdit Envoyé Extraordinaire d'Angleterre croit que vos Seigneuries voudront d'abord donner les mains à cette saisie et bannissement d'autant plus qu'elles dans l'extract de leur résolution de Mardy le 15 de May, de l'année présente, veulent bien donner les assurances de concourir en tout ce que dependra d'elles pour le maintien des traités et de la bonne intelligence entre sa Majesté et cet estat. Fait à la Haye à 17 May, 1685.

(Signé) B. SCHELTON.

Then follows a list of the proscribed, including Locke.

He was therefore under the necessity of living very much concealed, and of going out only at night, in order to avoid observation. His occupations, however, were such as could not have given offence to the most jealous Government; and he had actually, at one time, (as says Le Clerc) removed from Amsterdam to Utrecht, to avoid the possible suspicion of being connected with Monmouth, or of abetting his expedition, having no good opinion either of the leader or of his undertaking. He certainly left Amsterdam on the 16th of April, 1685, and remained at Utrecht till the 23d of May following, which last date coincides exactly, I believe, with the Duke of Monmouth's departure from the Texel. It was during this secluded residence with M. Veen in 1685 that his Letter on Toleration was finished.

The subject had many years before engaged his attention, as I find a long article on Toleration in his Common Place Book, dated 1667, containing his early thoughts on that most important of all questions, as he first committed them to writing. It concludes thus: "But to show the danger of establishing uniformity, to give a full prospect of this subject, there remain yet these following particulars to be handled:

1st. To show what influence Toleration is like to have upon the number and industry of your people.

2nd. What force must compel all to an uniformity in England; to consider what party alone, or what parties, are likeliest to unite, to make a force able to compel the rest.

3rd. To show that all that speak against Toleration, seem to suppose that severity and force are the only arts of government, and way to suppress any faction, which is a mistake.

4th. That for the most part the matters of controversy and distinction between sects are no parts, or very inconsiderable ones, and but appendages of true religion.

5th. To consider how it comes to pass that the Christian religion has made more factions, wars, and disturbances in civil societies than any other, and whether Toleration and Latitudinism would not prevent those evils.

6th. The making the terms of church communion as large as may be, *i. e.* that your articles in speculative opinions be few and large, and ceremonies in worship few and easy, which is Latitudinism.

7th. That the desiring and undertaking to prove several doctrines which are confessed to be incomprehensible, and to be no otherwise known but by revelation, and requiring men to assent to them in the forms proposed by the doctors of your several churches, must needs make a great many Atheists.

But of these when I have more leisure. Sic cogitavit J. Locke, 1667."

The Letter on Toleration* was first printed in Latin at Tergou. The title "Epistola de Tolerantiâ ad Clarissimum virum T.A.R.P.T.O. L.A. Scripta a P.A.P.O. J.L.A. The first letters signify Theologiæ apud Remonstrantes Professorem, Tyrannidis Osorem, Limburgium Amstelodamensem: and the last letters Pacis Amico, Persecutionis Osore. Joanne Lockio Anglo." This, in some sort the most useful, because the most practical of all his works, was translated into English and printed in London after the Revolution, and frequently defended by its author from the repeated attacks of his adversaries.

William Penn, who enjoyed some degree of favour with James II. offered to obtain from the King the pardon of Locke, who nobly refused to accept a pardon, as being conscious of having committed no crime. The same office of friendship and assistance was also performed by the Earl of Pembroke, to whose honour the following letters deserve to be made known. The first relates probably to the proceedings at Oxford; the second to the promise of pardon obtained from James II.: to these, one of a later date from the same person is added, relating to the publication of the Essay on Human Understanding, which was dedicated to him.

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* A letter from Locke to Limborch, which will be found in the Appendix, shows that he was highly displeased with Limborch for having disclosed to a friend that Locke was the author of the Letter for Toleration.

"SIR, Nov. 1684.

"You might very well expect that I, who have had so much satisfaction in the friendship I have so many years contracted with you, would be pleased at your design of coming hither this winter; but when I consider how prejudicial it may be to your health to leave that country, (which I have often heard has much increased it,) I can't but use my endeavours you should not remove till Spring. I was much surprised when I heard the reason of your coming so soon, but as soon comforted myself, when I considered how many men of good reputation, by being accused, have had an advantage publicly to prove themselves honest men: certainly, I, who know your actions, should be to blame to give credit to others' words. You may be assured, nothing shall hinder me from hazarding all I am worth, when it may be advantageous to such a friend. I perceive my great concern has made me say more than is needful, I will therefore subscribe myself Your friend,

PEMBROKE."

"SIR, London, Aug. 20, 1685.

"I have often writ to you with great satisfaction in hopes of an answer. You will easily therefore conclude, with how much more I write now, since it will be the occasion of enjoying your company here in England. I need not tell you that I have omitted no opportunity of contradicting all false reports to the King, and (as in so good a cause none can but succeed) I have so satisfied the King, that he has assured me he will never believe any ill reports of you. He bid me write to you to come over; I told him, I would then bring you to kiss his hand, and he was fully satisfied I should. Pray, for my sake, let me see you before the summer be over; I believe you will not mistrust me: I am sure, none can the King's word. You having so many friends, lest you should mistake who I am, I must subscribe myself Your friend,

PEMBROKE."

" SIR, London, Nov. 25, 1687.

" I RECEIVED the second part, and with it the names of all the rest in print; such thoughts need no epistle to recommend them. I do not say so to excuse my name to it, for I shall always be as desirous (by my name) to testify the satisfaction I have in any thing you are pleased to write, as I am and ever will be (by my person) ready to vindicate any thing you do; but pray do not let the hopes of seeing this in print, defer the satisfaction of seeing the whole at large, which I hope you will send me as soon as possibly you can. A chain is not to be commended for its strength by taking it asunder; I shall not, therefore, pretend to commend this, since I can't do it without repeating the whole; but I will spare no pains where I may approve myself

Your friend,

PEMBROKE."

At the back of this letter his friend Dr. Thomas writes:—"If I can be serviceable to you in any thing, I will see you though it be now winter; if not, I will early in spring, and not wait for Musidore,* because his occasions may delay me, if I wait to suit mine to his. He tells me Will. Penn hath moved the King for pardon for you, which was as readily granted. I said if you either wanted or desired it, you would move by your friend here, and you would write your own sense of it."

During his abode in Holland, he was often occupied in different scientific pursuits in company with M. Guenelon, the first physician at Amsterdam, with whom he had become acquainted some years before, whilst resident at Paris. He now formed a small society, which met weekly at each other's houses, to discuss such questions as by their rules had been proposed at a previous meeting. The society consisted of Limborch, Le Clerc, Guenelon, and a few others. He appears, indeed, on all occasions to have been very much disposed to promote the formation of societies of that nature, having encouraged frequent meetings at his chambers whilst resident at Oxford, and also that weekly society which he afterwards promoted when settled for a few years in London, after his return to England in 1689.

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* Musidore, a name by which his other friend Tyrrell was designated, to avoid danger.

It has been observed that he led a very retired and secluded life at Amsterdam, to avoid observation. His Journal at that time consists for the most part of references to the books he was reading; there are sentences from Cicero, and many notes from books of travels, of which latter he was always very fond. A few extracts will show his manner of life and employment.

Feb. 14th.—Montaigne, by a gentle kind of negligence, clothed in a peculiar sort of good language, persuades without reason: his Essays are a texture of strong sayings, sentences, and ends of verses, which he so puts together, that they have an extraordinary force upon men's minds. He reasons not, but diverts himself, and pleases others; full of pride and vanity.

Friday, March 3rd.—The ice here at Amsterdam, this having been the hardest winter in the memory of man, being cut on purpose to try its thickness, was one Amsterdam ell and one inch: an Amsterdam ell is three quarters of an English yard. This, Mr. Wilcock saw himself cut and measured, in a place cleared from snow in the Fluelle Burgwall by the old Kirk.

April 14th.—M. Bremen showed us at Dr.

Sibilius's the way of making Thé, in use amongst the Japanese, where he lived eight years. He beat the yolks of eggs with sugar-candy in a basin, pouring on them the hot infusion of Thé by degrees, always stirring it.

* * * * *

May 12th.—From Amsterdam to Haarlem two and a-half hours. There I saw a mill for weaving of incle or ribbon, where a man with the easy motion of one hand, would weave at once thirty pieces of incle. Between Haarlem and Heemsted they bleach much linen.

Sunday, July 30th.—The Armenian priest going to say the service, was habited in a cap without brims, on the top of which stood a cross. His dress a white silk cope, on which, behind, was a large red satin cross, a great high collar, the collar standing at a distance from the neck, and reaching half way up his head; he had under this a surplice girt close about his middle with a girdle; he was assisted by one in a surplice. He began with crossing and bowing; after some few words, I suppose a prayer, he pulled off his cap and appeared shaved, *more Romano*. The species are elevated before consecration both covered, after consecration separately, the priest keeping his face to the altar. Afterwards, the cup in his hand, and the wafer held over it, he turns about to the people, and holds it there. All this time the people on their knees beat their breasts, and say something. The priest breaks the wafer and soaks it in wine, and so takes it. After the service is done, the priest, holding the New Testament in his hand, descends from the altar, and so standing with his face turned towards the people, they all come, one after the other, and kiss the cover of the book, which was of silver; and most of them also kiss the priest's hands, and then, by the assistant, have each of them a little bit given them of the same bread (but unconsecrated) that the wafer was made of, that was consecrated. In crossing, bowing, incense, and other things, they agree much with the Roman ceremonies, only they incense all present. They give not the cup to the laity, but only a wafer dipped in the wine. They admit to their communion all Christians, and hold it our duty to join in love and charity with those who differ in opinion.

Aug. 16th.—From Amsterdam to Alkmar, six hours. A pretty little town, very clean, but seems rather in a decaying than a thriving condition. The church large, built like a cathedral. The great merchandise of the town is cheese, which the pastures round about it furnish. About a league and a half is Egmont, the ancient seat of the Counts of Egmont.

17th.—To Horne, a large town on the Zuider Sea. From Horne to Enchuysen, three hours, the way all pitched with clinkers, and beset with boors' houses almost as it were one street. The houses are of a pretty odd fashion; the barn joining to the dwelling-house making a part of it. Enchuysen has a fair East India House, the most handsome and stately of any thing in the town. Here I lay at the sign of the Golden Hen; in the same house, twenty-three years since, they say the King lay for a whole week together in a little room over the kitchen, in a cupboard-bed, about five feet long.

18th.—To Worcum, four leagues; the land is secured against the sea for a mile by long piles driven in, a little inclining towards the bank, close one by another, each whereof cost, to be there so placed, a ducat. Thirty or forty lime-kilns; the lime all cockle-shells picked upon the sea strand, which, laying with turf, they burn to lime. The ordinary women went most bare-legged; but what most surprised me was to see them have woollen cloth stockings reaching down to the small of their legs, close laced, and yet bare-foot. To Balswert by sailing.

19th.—To Franeker; it is a little fortified town, that one may walk round in half an hour; it has an University; the schools and library not extraordinary, which shows that knowledge depends not on the stateliness of the buildings, &c. &c. &c., since this University has produced many learned men, and has now some amongst its professors; the professors thirteen or fourteen — the scholars 300. They have the pictures of all their professors. A thing worthy imitation in other places is, that any one may take his degree here when he is fit, abilities, and not time, being only looked after: the fees are moderate. In Friesland they still use the old style. The land is generally better than in Holland; some worth thirty francs per morgen, but they say the taxes amount to one half the value.

21st.—To Leewaerden; to Wienwert. Here, in M. Somerdyke's house is the church of the Labadists; they receive all ages, sexes, and degrees, upon approbation, after trial. They live all in common; and whoever is admitted is to give with himself all he has to Christ the Lord, *i. e.* the church, to be managed by officers appointed by the church. It is a fundamental miscarriage, and such as will deserve cutting off, to possess any thing in property. Their discipline whereby they prevent and correct offences is, first, reprehension; secondly, suspension from sacrament; and if this makes no amendment, they cut him off from their body, &c. &c. &c. Baptism they administer only to grown people, who show themselves to be Christians by their lives, as well as professions, &c. &c. &c. They have been here these nine years, and, as they say, increase daily; but yet I could not learn their numbers: M. Yonn said 100, M. Meuler, 80. They are very shy to give an account of themselves, particularly of their manner and rule of living and discipline; and it was with much difficulty I got so much out of them; for they seemed to expect that a man should come there disposed to desire and court admittance into their society, without inquiring into their ways; and if the Lord, as they say, dispose him to it, and they see the signs of grace in him, they will proceed to give him farther instruction; which signs of grace seem to me to be, at last, a perfect submission to the will and rules of their pastor, Mr. Yonn; who, if I mistake not, has established to himself a perfect empire over them. For though their censures, and all their administration, be in appearance in their church, yet it is easy to perceive how at last it determines in him. He is *dominus factotum;* and though I believe they are much separated from the world, and are, generally speaking, people of very good and exemplary lives, yet the tone of voice, manner, and fashion, of those I conversed with, seemed to make one suspect a little of Tartouf. Besides that, all their discourse carries with it a supposition of more purity in them than ordinary, and as if nobody was in the way to heaven but they; not without a mixture of canting, in referring things immediately to the Lord, even on those occasions where one inquires after the rational means and measures of proceeding, as if they did all things by revelation. It was above two hours after I came before I could receive audience of Mr. Yonn, though recommended by a friend; and how many offers soever I made towards it, I could not be admitted to see either their place of exercise, of eating, or any of their chambers, but was kept all the while I was there *in atrio gentium*, a little house without the gate; for, as I said before, they seemed very shy of discovering the *secreta domûs*, which seemed to me not altogether so suitable to the pattern of Christianity.

24th.—By Leewaerden to Doccum. To Groningen, a large town, regularly fortified with seventeen bastions, the distance of each 470 steps. The taxes here are, for every chimney, 55s. per annum; for every grown person, one; boys at school, half so much; besides excise on beer, wine, bread, and every thing: French, or Rhenish wine, pay 36 per hogshead; brandy, 78; and they pay so much a head for their cattle; besides near one half the value of their lands for land-tax. Here is an university; eight professors: their library a long gallery, two sides of a square.

25th.—Returned to Leewaerden the same way.

29th.—Henrie Casimir, Prince of Nassau, Governor and Captain-General of the provinces of Friesland and Groningen, having about eight months since married the Princess of Anhault, made his public and solemn entry into Leewaerden, the capital city of Friesland, at the public charge of the States. The cavalcade and solemnity were suitable to the greatness of the government. That that I observed particular in it was, that when the Prince and his Princess, with their two mothers, and the Princess of Screwin and their two sisters, were alighted at his house, and had rested a little, he took the ladies with him down into the court, and there placing them in chairs just within the outward gate which stood open, he himself stood bare just without the gate, whilst all the burghers who were that day in arms, marched by and saluted him with firing their muskets as they passed. This lasted well nigh two hours, and after that they went to supper. Some of the gentlemen of the country, and some of the chief of his officers, supped with him and the ladies, and hereupon a page said grace.

The Prince is about twenty-eight years old, little, and not very handsome; but, as they say, a man of parts, loving, and well-beloved of his country. His lady is of a younger branch of the house of Hainault; and her father at present a Marshal to the Duke of Brandenburgh.

30th.—This evening the Prince and Princess were treated at supper by the Deputies of the States of the province, and entertained with fireworks.

31st.—And this day, to conclude the compliment, they are entertained at dinner by the States at the College, where the States used to keep their assembly.

Sept. 3rd.—To Ens, Campertown, Groning, and Dewenter. Here are two Protestant nunneries; one belongs to the freemen of the town, and their daughters only are admitted: these are fourteen; they live all together in one house; the oldest, of course, is the abbess. They have each a little garden, and their dividend of the corn and some land which belongs to them, which amounts to three or four bushels of rye. Their meat and drink they provide for themselves, and dress it in a common kitchen in the summer, in the winter in their chambers. There was formerly, before the Reformation, a convent of Catholic nuns; and when in the last war the Bishop of Munster was possessed of this town two years together, he put three Catholic maids into the nunnery, which remain there still, under the same rules as the others.

There is, besides this, another nunnery in the town, only of the noblesse of the province; they have each four hundred guilders per annum, one half whereof the abbess has for their board, the other half they have themselves to dispose of as they please. They have no particular habit, and are often at home with their friends in the country.

20th.—From Dewenter to Zutphen and Arnheim. In the midway is Deiren, where the Prince of Orange has a house, more considerable for the pleasant country about it, than for its largeness or beauty. Here I saw the camels which the Count of Waldek sent the

Prince, taken amongst others in the rout of the Turks. The taller was near about seven feet high; they were both males. They seemed creatures made for labour by their patience and submissiveness and small feeding; these eat not so much as a horse. Their food hay, and a paste made of rye-meal; upon bidding they lie down, resting on their sternum. From Deiren to Arnheim is a pleasant country; the borders of their fields set with rows of oaks three or four deep, which makes it look like a country full of woods. The soil sandy and dry, but not unfruitful.

21st.—To Nimegen. The town is situated on a rise on the side of the Waal.

They showed some remains of an old Roman building. In their town-house are some ancient inscriptions found about the town.

23rd.—To Gorcum, Bomel, and Utrecht.

Oct. 10th.—Utrecht to Amsterdam.

15th.—To Haerlem—to Leyden.

23rd.—The young Gronovius, son of the famous Gronovius, made a solemn oration in the schools; his subject was the original of Romulus. At it were present the curators of the university, and the professors, solemnly ushered in by the university officers. The music, instrumental and vocal, began and concluded the scene. The harangue itself began with a magnificent and long compliment to the curators, and then something being said to the professor and scholars, he came to the main business, which was to show that Romulus was not an Italian born, but came from the East, and was of Palestine or thereabout. This, as I remember, was the design of his oration, which lasted almost two hours.

29th.—Sunday, to the French church. Here Joseph Scaliger lies buried, with a high eulogium on a table in the wall; he was honorary professor here.

Nov. 12th.—From Doctor Herman, who lived nine years in Zeylon, [Ceylon] many particulars of diseases of that climate, &c. &c.

* * * * *

The cinnamon grows large: the smell is peculiar to the bark, and in that too there is great difference, according to the temper the tree is in. They gather it in August and February, at which time the sap rises, and so makes it easy to separate the bark from the wood. They bark none but young trees, and those only on one side.

15th.—I saw Swammerdam's remains, being a great collection of anatomical preparations of several parts of animals, especially of human bodies. Amongst other things very remarkable is, the spiral valves in the rectum, and the circular in the ilium; in the ilium they reach not quite over the cavity of the gut, but are continued all round in circles, about half an inch or less asunder. In the colon they are not continued round, but end in three seams, that are continued all along that gut, but the direction in them is more spiral than circular, and they stand at a greater distance than in the small gut. There were the parts of several guts, we knew not of what animals, that were perfectly spiral. The cæcum had visibly a valve opening outwards, and hindering the ingress of any matter into the cæcum, &c.

June 22, 1685.—I saw, at Mr. Lewenhook's, several microscopical observations, which answer the description he has given of them, &c. &c. The exceeding small and regular fibres of the crystalline humour are wonderful, if all the works of Nature were not so. [Speaking of some of the small animals which Lewenhook mentioned that he had discovered, there is a very long description.]

* * * * *

It was with much difficulty I could perceive the tails he describes, if, at least, I did perceive any at all. The glasses we saw, he said, would magnify to a million of times, which I understood of cubical augmentation, which is but 100 in length; but the best of all his glasses, and those by which he describes his spermatic animals, we did not see, nor, as I hear, does he show them to any one.

24th.—To Amsterdam.

Aug. 28.—I saw a boor's house a mile or more from Amsterdam. The people and the cows live all in the same room in the winter, there being place for twenty-four cows on both sides, with a large space to pass between them in the middle, to which their heads are turned. The place they stand in is raised a little above the pavement. There runs a row of white marble paving fifteen or eighteen inches square, on which their meat was laid. At the upper end of the room was a partition of about breast-high of boards, which separated a square place, where the people lived. There were three pigeon-hole beds, after the Dutch fashion, and though this was but a part of the stable wherein the people and their beasts live together, yet the whole room, and every thing in it, was much cleaner than one shall see any kitchen, nay, most of the finest parlours in England.

Oct. 5.—Concerning the beginning of the Quakers, all I can learn from B. Furly is, that

John Saltmarsh, who had been Fairfax's chaplain, and a member of the Church of England, was the first that began to be scrupulous of the hat, and using common language, in 1649. In 1650, Job Fox, a shoemaker, and Jas. Nailor, a sergeant in the army, in the North, began to publish the doctrines of the light.

March 8th, 1687. — Whether things, both moral and historical, writ, as other such matters are, by men liable to the same mistakes and frailties, may not yet be so ordered by Providence, as to be certain rules in future ages, and presignifications of future events sufficient to guide those who are sincere inquirers after truth and right?

June 1.—A boor, that lived about three miles from Rotterdam, had about thirty morgens of land, which would keep thirty cows. His land was worth, to be let, about seventeen shillings per annum per morgen, besides taxes, which were about seven or eight guilders per year more; whereof three, or thereabouts, to the State, the remainder four or five was for mills, sluices, and other charges of draining. A morgen of land, to be sold, is worth 700, for he had given 2,100 for three morgens, which he would now let for fifty, so that the lands sell for above thirty-five years' purchase. One of these morgens, which is to be sold, being digged up, and the turf sold, will make 8,000s., whereof the State has 4,000s. Making the turf, and other charges about them, will amount to 2,000s. The tax which is to be still paid, after the turf is dug out, and the land lying under water, may be bought off for 225s., (*Q.* whether this be the whole tax for mills and all?) so that by selling his land for the turf, a man does more than double his fee.

The vein of turf lies about two feet under the surface, and is about eight feet thick. Under it lies clay. The top of the vein now lies higher than the surface of the water, as it is in summer time when lowest. The upper part of the vein yields the best turf, the under half is not so good. They cut it not with spades, but fish it all up from under the water with nets, and so lay it upon the neighbouring land of a certain thickness to dry, and when it is of a fit temper, they cut it into sizes fit for use. The turf never grows there again; at least as they observe: but sometimes, when a large tract of ground is by this means laid under water, they drain it, and so have their land again, for which they pay no taxes for thirty years after draining.

Whilst Locke resided in Holland he kept up a regular correspondence with his friends in England, and appears to have been well informed of what was passing there. Some of these letters describe the state of affairs, and the particulars of the proceedings of James the Second's commissioners at Oxford, in the business of Magdalen College.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM TYRRELL TO LOCKE.

May 6th, 1687.

"Your discourse about the liberty of conscience would not do amiss now, to dispose people's minds to pass it into law whenever the Parliament sits. The thing gives so general a satisfaction, that more are displeased at the manner of doing it, than at the thing itself. So that I find few but the high Church of England-men highly displeased; but let the intent of those that do it be as it will, I believe whatever the Church of England may lose, the Roman Catholic religion will not gain so much as they imagine; more being likely to go off to the fanatics than to them, amongst the ordinary people, who can neither expect offices nor pensions by the change: and if so, I think the Roman Catholic religion (as Osborne says) will only change herb John for Coloquintida. As for news, I have not much to send you, only to the great satisfaction of many, Judge Wilkins is put out; and one Sir Richard Allebone, a Roman Catholic of great integrity, as those say who know him, put in his room; and more such changes are daily expected. The Vice Chancellor of Cambridge was suspended and deprived this day by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners *ab officio et beneficio*, for refusing to propose and admit Father Francis, a Dominican friar, to the degree of Master of Arts in the University; the rest of the doctors who signed the University plea are to expect their doom, but what it will be we cannot yet tell. And now I am speaking of universities, I will give you a short account of the state of Oxford. In Christ-church, where there hath been a Roman Catholic head almost this half year, I cannot hear of one conversion amongst the students. The old Hall in cant quadrangle, formerly the Bishop's wood-house, is now fitting up for a chapel for the Dean. There are, notwithstanding Mr. W.'s great endeavours to turn people, not above six or seven scholars beside himself, who have declared themselves Roman Catholics. Mr. W. prints books at his new press for his religion, but they have no very good success: one was answered as soon as it came out; the other, which is a kind of history of the Reformation, has a very slight reception among the learned, being no more than a translation of Gander's and Gretner's stories, which have been so long since confuted. I doubt not you have received Dr. Burnet's letters, which are a pattern how a man should travel, and what observations he should make. The book was forbid to be brought in, but it has since been printed here and sells infinitely. I forgot to tell you the head of Magdalen College in Oxford being dead, the King sent down a mandamus for one Mr. Farmer a new convert, a commoner of the House; but the Fellows refused to elect him, and have been so stout as to choose Mr. Hough, a chaplain of the Duke of Ormond, for their President. My Lord Sunderland has writ to them from the King about it; their answer was, that they could not choose Mr. F. with a safe conscience, being under an oath and having received the sacrament upon it, to choose none but a fit man, whereas this man was not so, being a person of ill-fame and debauched life."

FROM TYRRELL TO LOCKE.

* * * * Nov. 2nd.

"I HAVE nothing else worth writing but a short account how things have gone lately at Magdalen College before the Commissioners whom the King sent down to visit the College; viz. the Bishop of Chester, the Lord Chief Justice Wright, and Baron Jenner. When they came, they summoned the President and Fellows before them, and admonished the President to recede from the government of the house, which he refusing, they expelled him. Then they asked all the Fellows severally, whether they would admit the Bishop of Oxford to be their head? which all of them refusing except one Papist, they admitted him themselves by installing one of his chaplains, and giving him the oaths by proxy. Then they sent to Dr. Hough for the keys of the lodging, which he refusing to deliver, they sent for a smith and broke them open, and put the Bishop's proxy in possession; then they sent for all the Fellows again, and asked them whether they would submit to and obey the President whom the King had set over them, which Dr. F——, who was the first man asked, utterly refused, saying he neither would, nor could do it with a safe conscience. The rest of them signed a paper in which they promised to submit to the Bishop *in omnibus licitis et honestis* according to the statutes of the house, which submission was taken, and they much commended for it. But Dr. F—— upon the third admonition still refusing, had his name struck out of the books, and was ordered to depart the College within fourteen days; against which proceedings as null and unjust, he read and gave in a protestation, as Dr. Hough had done before, both appealing to the King in his courts, &c. So there were no more expelled at present for denying their authority, than the President, Dr. F——, and the under-porter. But on Friday morning, upon receiving fresh instructions, the former submission not being looked upon as full enough, they were farther required to sign an address to the King, wherein they were to confess and beg pardon for their passed contumacy, and promise absolute obedience for the time to come; but instead of that, when they came together, they made a quite other sort of address to the Commissioners, wherein they first assert that they are not conscious of having acted in any thing contrary to their oaths and the statutes of the house, and therefore hope that his Majesty will pardon them if they cannot render any more than a passive obedience to his Majesty's commands, since they cannot look upon the Bishop as their lawful head, or words to that effect: and desire the Commissioners to represent their case fairly to his Majesty. At which paper (being signed by all the Fellows except two, viz. Dr. Smyth and Charnock) they were very much displeased, and adjourned the court till the 20th instant, when it is to be feared they will come down again, and proceed very severely against all that signed that paper. This is the sum of what has been done; Dr. F—— is very cheerful under it, and many commend his carriage as much more fair and above board than the rest, who meant the same thing, though they dared not speak it out. What will be the issue, God knows! but we fear the turning out the most of the Fellows. I fear I have tired you as much as I have myself.

"Yours sincerely,

M."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

* * * Feb. 20th, 1688.

"The aldermen and bailiffs in Oxford that were lately put in by the new charters, are all turned out, and Mr. P——, your old acquaintance, Alderman Wright, with several others, put in their places, though I hear the former refuses to act. Now if you would know the reason of all this, they say there will be a new Parliament in May, and in order to his Majesty's designs, it is fit the Corporation should undergo a new alteration, the former members growing weary, and not willing to drive out the whole stage, it was time the very Judases should be unharnessed and turned out to grass. Those that before were so ready in giving up their charters, now find the good effect of it, being the first that were turned out: *nec lex est justior ulla.* Enough of politics, but wishing you all health and a happy meeting,

"Yours sincerely,

M."

That happy accident, the Revolution of 1688, enabled Locke to return to his native country, and he arrived in the same fleet that brought the Princess of Orange to England. It was at this time that he stood forward as the most strenuous champion of those true principles of Government which assert, that the people are not to be considered as the property of their rulers, nor Monarchs as the Gods of the earth, according to the slavish doctrine of the divine and indefeasible right of Kings; but that the kingly office and all other orders, privileges, and distinctions whatsoever, are held in trust for the benefit of the people, by whose consent they were appointed, and from whom they derive their delegated power.

It was almost immediately after his arrival in England that an offer was made to him by

Lord Mordaunt, whom he had known in Holland, then one of King William's Ministers, and much trusted by him, as Burnet says, to be employed as Envoy at one of the great German Courts, probably either at Vienna or Berlin; an appointment which he modestly refused by the following letter, the copy of which is indorsed J. L. to Lord Mordaunt.*

"Whitehall, Feb. 21, 1689.

"MY LORD,

"I CANNOT but in the highest degree be sensible of the great honour his Majesty has done me in those gracious intentions towards me which I have understood from your Lordship; and it is the most touching displeasure I have ever received from that weak and broken constitution of my health which has so long threatened my life, that it now affords me not a body suitable to my mind in so desirable an occasion of serving his Majesty. I make account every Englishman is bound in conscience and gratitude not to content himself with a bare, slothful, and inactive loyalty, where his purse, his head, or his hand may be of any use to this our great deliverer. He has ventured and done too much for us to leave room for indifferency or backwardness in any one who would avoid the reproach and contempt of all mankind. And if with the great concerns of my country and all Christendom I may be permitted to mix so mean a consideration as my own private thoughts, I can truly say that the particular veneration I have for his person carries me beyond an ordinary zeal for his service. Besides this, my Lord, I am not so ignorant as not to see the great advantages of what is proposed to me. There is honour in it enough to satisfy an ambition greater than mine, and a step to the making my fortune which I could not have expected. These are temptations that would not suffer me easily to decline so eminent a favour, as the other are obligations to a forward obedience in all things, where there are hopes it may not be unuseful. But such is the misfortune of my circumstances, that I cannot accept the honour that is designed me without rendering myself utterly unworthy of it. And however tempting it be, I cannot answer to myself or the world my embracing a trust which I may be in danger to betray even by my entering upon it. This I shall certainly be guilty of, if I do not give your Lordship a true account of myself, and what I foresee may be prejudicial to his Majesty's affairs. My Lord, the post that is mentioned to me is at this time, if I mistake not, one of the busiest and most important in all Europe, and, therefore, would require not only a man of common sense and good intentions, but one whom experience in the methods of such business has fitted with skill and dexterity to deal with not only the reasons of able, but the more dangerous artifices of cunning men, that in such stations must be expected and mastered. But, my Lord, supposing industry and good-will would in time work a man into some degree of capacity and fitness, what will they be able to do with a body that hath not health and strength enough to comply with them? what shall a man do in the necessity of application and variety of attendance on business to be followed there, who, sometimes after a little motion, has not breath to speak, and cannot borrow an hour or two of watching from the night without repaying it with a great waste of time the next day? Were this a conjuncture wherein the affairs of Europe went smooth, or a little mistake in management would not be soon felt, but that the diligence or change of the Minister might timely enough recover it, I should perhaps think I might, without being unpardonably faulty, venture to try my strength, and make an experiment so much to my advantage; but I have a quite other view of the state of things at present, and the urgency of affairs comes on so quick, that there was never such need of successful diligence, and hands capable of dispatch as now.

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* Afterwards Earl of Peterborough.

"The dilatory methods and slow proceedings, to say no worse of what I cannot without indignation reflect on in some of my countrymen, at a season when there is not a moment of time lost without endangering the Protestant and English interest throughout Europe, and which have already put things too far back, make me justly dread the thought that my weak constitution should in so considerable a post any way clog his Majesty's affairs; and I think it much better that I should be laid by to be forgotten for ever, than that they should at all suffer by my ambitiously and forwardly undertaking what my want of health or experience would not let me manage to the best advantage; for I must again tell your Lordship, that however unable I might prove, there will not be time in this crisis to call me home and send another. If I have reason to apprehend the cold air of the country, there is yet another thing in it as inconsistent with my constitution, and that is, their warm drinking. I confess obstinate refusal may break pretty well through it, but that at best will be but to take more care of my own health than the King's business. It is no small matter in such stations to be acceptable to the people one has to do with, in being able to accommodate one's self to their fashions; and I imagine whatever I may do there myself, the knowing what others are doing is at least one-half of my business, and I know no such rack in the world to draw out men's thoughts as a well-managed bottle. If therefore it were fit for me to advise in this case, I should think it more for the King's interest to send a man of equal parts, that could drink his share, than the soberest man in the kingdom. I beseech you, my Lord, to look on this not as the discourse of a modest or lazy man, but of one who has truly considered himself, and above all things wishes well to the designs which his Majesty has so gloriously begun for the redeeming England, and with it all Europe, and I wish for no other happiness in this world, but to see it completed, and shall never be sparing of my mite where it may contribute any way to it, which I am confident your Lordship is sufficiently assured of, and therefore I beg leave to tell your Lordship that if there be any thing wherein I may flatter myself I have attained any degree of capacity to serve his Majesty, it is in some little knowledge I perhaps may have in the constitutions of my country, the temper of my countrymen, and the divisions amongst them, whereby I persuade myself I may be more useful to him at home, though I cannot but see that such an employment would be of greater advantage to myself abroad would but my health consent to it. My Lord, missing your Lordship at your lodging this morning, I have taken the liberty to leave you my thoughts in writing, being loth that in any thing that depends on me there should be a moment's delay, a thing which at this time I look on as so criminal in others.

"I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant,
J. Locke."

Locke, on his return to England, after the Revolution, endeavoured to be reinstated in his studentship at Christ-church, and, for this purpose, presented a petition to the King, as visitor, to be restored to his former station and rights in that College.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF JOHN LOCKE

"SHEWETH,—That your Petitioner being student of Christ-church College, in Oxford, was, in the year 1684, by a letter sent by the Earl of Sunderland, the principal Secretary of State, to the Dean and Chapter of the said College, ordered to be turned out. Dr. Fell, then Bishop of Oxford, and Dean of the said College, finding it against the rules of common justice, as well as the ordinary method of the College, to turn out any one without hearing, or so much as being accused of any fact which might forfeit his place, especially one who had lived inoffensively in the College for many years, did, by a "Moneo" affixed to the screen in the College-hall of the same College, summon your Petitioner, who was then in Holland, to appear at Christmas following, which was about two months after, to answer any thing should be alleged against him; but this regular proceeding not suiting the designs upon the University, another letter was sent the week following, with positive orders to turn your Petitioner out immediately, which was accordingly done.

"Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays

that your Majesty, being Visitor of the said College, and having power by your immediate command to rectify what you find amiss there, would, out of your great justice and goodness, be graciously pleased to direct the Dean and Chapter of the said College to restore your Petitioner to his student's place, together with all things belonging unto it which he formerly enjoyed in the said College.

"And your Petitioner shall ever pray."

A Paper, indorsed J. Locke's case, 1689, contains the substance of the petition, with this variation:—

"He therefore prays his Majesty, who is Visitor of the said College, and has, at least, as much power to redress as others to do wrong, to grant his mandate to the Dean and Chapter of the said College immediately to restore the said John Locke to his former place of student in the College, and to his chambers and the other rights he had therein, with a liberty to be absent, he having an employment in his Majesty's service."

What were the exact difficulties which prevented his reinstatement are not known; Le Clerc says, that finding he could only be received as a supernumerary, he determined to press his claim no farther. It is probable, from the terms of his petition, that he rejected any other conditions than such as should afford him full redress for the wrongs and injustice he had suffered.

One of the first acts that passed after the settlement of the new Government at the Revolution, was that for "exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects from the penalties of certain laws;" and although the act confers but a scanty measure of religious liberty, it did not pass without the murmurs of the bigoted Churchmen. There is a tradition, that the terms of the Toleration Act were negotiated by Locke himself; and the fact is in some degree confirmed by an expression in one of his letters to Limborch. We know, however, that he was dissatisfied with the terms then granted, and that he considered them most inadequate and insufficient.

In this first charter of religious liberty, as much was granted as the prejudices of the time would permit. The Unitarians, who were not allowed to enjoy the benefit of that act, were afterwards relieved by a subsequent statute of George III. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, so long resisted, and at last so happily conceded, was the next great step towards the attainment of religious liberty and peace. The repeal of the laws which, since the reign of Charles the Second, have excluded our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects from their civil rights, and from their due share of political power, has now confirmed THAT JUST AND TRUE LIBERTY, THAT EQUAL AND IMPARTIAL LIBERTY, WHICH WE HAVE SO LONG STOOD IN NEED OF.

The Essay on Human Understanding, which had been finished during the author's retirement in Holland, and the English version of the Letter on Toleration, were now published on his return to his native country. They contributed, as Stewart has observed in his excellent Dissertation, to prepare the thinking part of his readers, in a degree till then unknown, for the unshackled use of the understanding. Perhaps it is not too much to say, that if Luther delivered the Christian world from the thraldom* of the priesthood in matters of religion; Locke, in no less degree, contributed, by his method of bold examination, and by his ardent search for truth, to deliver the world from the thraldom of errors and prejudices.

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* It has been said that Luther made every man his own Pope; *i. e.* established the right of private judgment.

It has been observed by Mr. D. Stewart, and also by Sir James Mackintosh,* who, both as a writer and orator, is so eminently distinguished by his profound research and splendid talents, that the course and circumstances of Locke's life were, in every respect, favourable to the production of such a work as the Essay on Human Understanding. Mr. Stewart remarks, that the study of medicine formed one of the best preparations for the study of mind; and that the busy and diversified scenes through which the author afterwards passed, contributed, not less than the academical retirement of his former life, to enhance the peculiar and characteristic merit of his works. On his first entrance into life, as he himself says, "I no sooner perceived myself in the world, but I found myself in a storm;" and thus he might well describe the civil wars, and the military rule, which prevailed from his childhood to his twenty-sixth year. "Educated then," to use the words of Sir James Mackintosh, "amongst the English Dissenters, during the short period of their political ascendancy, he early imbibed that deep piety and ardent spirit of liberty which actuated that body of men; and he probably imbibed also in their schools the disposition to metaphysical inquiries, which has everywhere accompanied the Calvinistic theology. Sects, founded on the right of private judgment, naturally tend to purify themselves from intolerance, and in time learn to respect in others the freedom of thought, to the exercise of which they owe their own existence. By the Independent divines who were his instructors, our philosopher was taught those principles of religious liberty which they were the first to disclose to the world. When free inquiry led him to milder dogmas, he retained the severe morality which was their honourable singularity, and which continues to distinguish their successors in those communities which have abandoned their rigorous opinions. His professional pursuits afterwards engaged him in the study of the physical sciences, at the moment when the spirit of experiment and observation was in its youthful fervour, and when a repugnance to scholastic subtleties was the ruling passion of the scientific world. At a more mature age he was admitted into the society of great wits and ambitious politicians; during the remainder of his life he was often a man of business, and always a man of the world, without much undisturbed leisure, and probably with that abated relish for merely abstract speculation, which is the inevitable result of converse with society, and experience in affairs. But his political connexions, agreeing with his early bias, made him a zealous advocate of liberty in opinion and in government; and he gradually united his zeal and activity to the illustration of such general principles as are the guardians of those great interests of human society. Almost all his writings (even his Essay itself) were occasional, and intended directly to counteract the enemies of reason and freedom in his own age. The first Letter on Toleration, the most original, perhaps, of his works, was composed in Holland, in a retirement where he was forced to conceal himself from the tyranny which pursued him into a foreign land; and it was published in England, in the year of the Revolution, to vindicate the Toleration Act, of which the author lamented the imperfection."

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* Vide a most admirable article in the Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxvi.

As no one is so capable of describing the extent and scope of Locke's improvements as the philosophical writer whose words have been already quoted, the same high authority is again appealed to in the following transcript, with all due acknowledgment, and with an unfeigned deference and admiration for his talents and judgment.

"It is with the Second Book that the Essay on Human Understanding properly begins, and this Book is the first considerable contribution in modern times towards the experimental philosophy of the human mind. The road was pointed out by Bacon; and by excluding the fallacious analogies of thought to outward appearance, Descartes may be said to have marked out the limits of the proper field of inquiry. But before Locke, there was no example in intellectual philosophy of an ample enumeration of facts, collected and arranged for the express purpose of legitimate generalisation. He himself tells us, that his 'purpose was, in a plain historical method, to give an account of the ways by which our understanding comes to attain those notions of things we have.' In more modern phraseology this would be called an attempt to ascertain, by observation, the most general facts relating to the origin of human knowledge. There is something in the plainness, and even homeliness, of Locke's language, which strongly indicates his very clear conception, that experience must be his sole guide, and his unwillingness, by the use of scholastic language, to imitate the example of those who make a show of explaining facts, while, in reality, they only 'darken council by words without knowledge.' He is content to collect the laws of thought, as he would have collected those of any other object of physical knowledge, from observation alone. He seldom embarrasses himself with physiological hypotheses, or wastes his strength in those insoluble problems which were then called metaphysical. Though in the execution of his plan there are many and great defects, the conception of it is entirely conformable to the Verulamian method of induction, which, even after the fullest enumeration of particulars, requires a cautious examination of each subordinate class of phenomena, before we attempt, through a very slowly ascending series of generalisation, to soar to comprehensive laws.

" Few books have contributed more to rectify prejudice, to undermine established errors, to diffuse a just mode of thinking, to excite a fearless spirit of inquiry, and yet to contain it within the boundaries which Nature has prescribed to the human understanding. An amendment of the general habits of thought is, in most parts of knowledge, an object as important as even the discovery of new truths, though it is not so palpable, nor in its nature so capable of being estimated by superficial observers. In the mental and moral world, which scarcely admit of any thing which can be called discovery, the correction of the intellectual habit is probably the greatest service which can be rendered to science. In this respect the merit of Locke is unrivalled: his writings have diffused throughout the civilized world the love of civil liberty; the spirit of toleration and charity in religious differences; the disposition to reject whatever is obscure, fantastic, or hypothetical in speculation; to reduce verbal disputes to their proper value; to abandon problems which admit of no solution; to distrust whatever cannot be clearly expressed; to render theory the simple expression of facts; and to prefer those studies which most directly contribute to human happiness. If Bacon first discovered the rules by which knowledge is improved, Locke has most contributed to make mankind at large observe them. He has done most, though often by remedies of silent and almost insensible operation, to cure those mental distempers which obstructed the adoption of these rules; and thus led to that general diffusion of a healthful and vigorous understanding, which is at once the greatest of all improvements, and the instrument by which all other improvements must be accomplished. He has left to posterity the instructive example of a prudent reformer, and of a philosophy temperate as well as liberal, which spares the feelings of the good, and avoids direct hostility with obstinate and formidable prejudice. These benefits are very slightly counterbalanced by some political doctrines, liable to misapplication, and by the scepticism of some of his ingenious followers; an inconvenience to which every philosophical school is exposed, which does not steadily limit its theory to a mere exposition of experience. If Locke made few discoveries, Socrates made none; yet both did more for the improvement of the understanding, and not less for the progress of knowledge, than the authors of the most brilliant discoveries. Mr. Locke will ever be regarded as one of the great ornaments of the English nation; and the most distant posterity will speak of him, as in the language of the poet—

> ' O Decus Angliacæ certe, O Lux altera gentis.'
> Gray de Princ. cogitand."

With respect to the style of the Essay, it has been observed by a most competent * judge,

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* Mr. Dugald Stewart.

that it resembles that of a well-educated man of the world, rather than of a recluse student, who had made an object of the art of composition. It everywhere abounds with colloquial expressions, which he had probably caught by the ear from those whom he considered as models of good conversation; and hence, though it now seems somewhat antiquated, and not altogether suited to the dignity of the subject, it may be presumed to have contributed its share towards the great object of turning the thoughts of his contemporaries to logical and metaphysical inquiries. *

We learn from Lord Shaftesbury and from Addison, that the Essay very soon after its publication excited considerable attention. Lord Shaftesbury was one of the first who sounded the alarm against what he conceived to be the drift of that philosophy which denies the existence of innate principles. The most direct of

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* In a new translation of Aristotle's Rhetoric, 1823, it is said of Locke's Essay, "This admirable work is recommended by clearness of conception, soundness of judgment, accuracy of reasoning, and a richness of fancy, equal to the illustration of every subject. When we add to all these the purity, aptness and variety of his style, it is no wonder that the Essay on Human Understanding should have formed a new epoch in philosophy."

all his attacks upon Locke is to be found in the eighth letter, addressed to a student at the University, which was published long after the death of Locke. The two following letters, from the same Lord Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley, are selected from a great number written by the same person now remaining amongst Mr. Locke's papers: the one dated 1689, is near the period of the publication of the Essay, when, considering his intimacy with the author, he must have seen it; the other, dated 1694, is soon after the publication of the second edition. They both appear to be aimed against the new philosophy, and being written to Locke, it is probable that the opinions contained in the Essay are the real objects of attack. After perusing these letters, the reader will probably be of opinion, that the friends of the author of the Essay gave him as much trouble as his public adversaries.

LORD ASHLEY TO MR. LOCKE.

"SIR, "Aug. 1689.

"I WAS so concerned at not being able to explain myself on some notions that I had only started to a discourse which, to excuse myself, I must say was begun by you, that whether it was only the affection that every one has to his own that made me fond of them, yet, rather than they should die so, I resolved to engage farther in their defence the next day, with the same impudence that I have used you to. But as good luck would have it for you, you were gone abroad, so I missed the gain of an hour or two by you, and you the loss of as much upon me; yet so far was I from learning the discretion I mought by this, that I grew worse than before; those thoughts that were not so well satisfied with themselves, but feared their doom from you, proud and insolent with this reprieve, thought now of nothing less than living; and those that were clearer conscienced, and had before expected quarter, now fell to refining upon themselves, in hopes still better to deserve it; so that here was I drawn in and disposed of at the caprice of these impertinent thoughts, (for to speak ingenuously, I care not a straw for either one or other of them, or what becomes of them,) and for all what resistance my materiality could make, this troublesome immateriality, as the distinction is that you taught me, got the better, and I was forced to think whether I would or no. Being thus, at length, forced to know and acknowledge the existence and much superior force of an immaterial part; so finding it came upon me with such violence, I quitted hold, and let myself be carried down in the midst of this immaterial stream, which, methinks, I had much rather have called this muddy one, if you would have let one alone to one's natural epithets.

"This here must certainly maze you, if, as I cannot expect otherwise, you should have forgotten the subject of the last discourse I had with you; therefore, to recover you out of what confusion such a wild style as this may have put you in, know the truth, that being caught in an idle hour, and cut off from the recourse to books, having only this very pen and paper left me for my defence, I bethought myself of the practice you have so often advised me to; and here being a very fair occasion offered, I resolved to muster up my disorderly thoughts, and make all the strength I could for those yesterday's notions that had fainted but at the apprehension of your siding against them, and that only in your absence could come to something, where they might have liberty to come to some head ere they were crushed, and were not to be destroyed so still in their rise; but if, after all, that was to be their fate to perish under you, that I might at least have the honour of yielding with more resistance, and you of overcoming with greater opposition.

"This is enough to vindicate myself from what may appear shocking to any thing that relates to religion by the side of the argument I have chose to defend, which I know you would have me do with vigour; for as to myself, to make use of Monsieur Fontenelle's words, 'Je respecte jusqu'aux delicatesses excessives, que l'on a sur le fait de la religion.'

"Thus far in my letter I have let you read without interrupting you; but for the rest that follows, unless you are as idle when you receive it as I am now I write it, pray put it up in your pocket, and do not read it till you happen to be so, how long soever it may be till that time.

"So then to our argument. Whatever was of matter you denied to be any part of the soul, and the only part you justified to be immaterial was thought. Now, what will thought prove when you do not appropriate it to a body? What is it that thinks, when no material being does? What is thought, but the ideas of natural objects as they represent themselves to sensible creatures; and if these ideas do not cease with the sensibility of the creature, why do you attribute their original to matter? Will you affirm, that that which subsists without matter should have sprung from matter, and that that which sprung out of matter should outlive it?

Again, how is it, that, in distempers and obstructions in the order and motion of the matter of our bodies, the thinking faculty is by these obstructed: may there be a medium supposed, such a liaison, compounded of materiality and immateriality, to work these mutual influences? or what hold else shall plain matter have on that which has not any thing of its own nature? Again, does the thought fail ever, as we know the senses may? or do we think, and not know it? feel, and not know it? see, and not know it? I would answer, we do not then feel, we do not then see: how then is it, that we still think, and think on you must; for you dare not allow of a suspension of the exercise of thought, for fear of destroying the only reliance of its being. Thus much in short; but let us take away all materiality from the faculty of thinking, and all from the objects it is to work upon (for this must be to suppose it completely independent from matter), and then give me an idea of what this thought or idea is to be; or do but remove a thing from us by the discovery of it to the sense or imagination of all living creatures like us, will you say an idea shall simply rise from this real being? As thus, before it was discovered the earth moved, or that there were antipodes, was there from this either thought or idea for several ages in the known part of our world? Creatures dizzied, have fancied it to move, and, by a wild incoherence of rambling thought, men may have been fancied opposite as flies on a table. But this makes no idea of existence of those things; for the very ideas, on which it must then be said to have been received, themselves hinder the framing of such a one, and show it to be only accidental classing of ideas, that have no just relation to one another. In short, from a being hid from the conceptions of all sensible creatures, (but such a one you cannot expect me to instance,) there can no idea or thought arise; for if it be inanimate, it cannot have an idea of itself: therefore, as there is no idea but from things substantial, so there cannot be any from such but by the communication of them to the senses; and thus, we owe all to our sensibility; and by the measure this decreases, the other must.

"But, to conclude with the best my apprehension will afford me, I define thought as a name given, not to the power whereby animated bodies are prepared and rendered capable of receiving the impressions of ideas, (for that Nature alone is to give an account of, and how matter in some bodies is animated, and in others not,) but to the action, the evident workings of exterior objects, by their ideas, on sensible creatures, who receive them either by the immediate and forcible application of the objects to the senses, or more remotely and indirectly from the impressions they have left. This depends on the natural composition of the brain, or other essential parts, as it is coarser or finer; for as in animated creatures, from those that are but in the first degree removed from vegetables, to us that esteem ourselves in the farthest, the senses multiply and grow in vigour; so do they, when arrived to a sufficient number and force, retain the many ideas they receive, and receive them afterwards by reflection. But here the imperfection of the remaining impressions, which the intervention of time has occasioned, or that originally may have been imperfect, and the obscurity of a dubious variety of these occurring representations, breed such alteration and confusion, that there is often great difficulty and trouble ere a fixed idea be framed in the mind; that, last remaining, being the subsequent idea of the preceding ones, and formed by their concurrence. Those being just, orderly, and full, the general comprehensive idea that springs thence will be true, and the nature of the thing described in the mind will appear as it is; whereas if, on the contrary, they prove weak, deceitful, confused, or imperfect, the conclusive ideas that are drawn from and formed out of those will be defective, corrupt, uncertain, false. I profess myself now, as far as I can, (and till I know more of myself you will excuse me) as far, that is, as materiality will go,

Entirely yours,

A. Ashley."*

"St. Giles's, Sept. 29, 1694.

"MR. LOCKE,

"You may most certainly be assured, that if out of any studies of mine, which you mention, I could draw any thing I thought could be any ways profitable, or other than superfluous to you, I should not fail to communicate it without any need of being pressed; since that all the end to which my studies, such as they are, have any leaning or bent, is but to learn me this one thing, in short—how to communicate every thing freely—how to be more sociable, and more a friend. How is it possible that I should be a niggard here, and not impart all that I were able? It is not with me as with an empiric, one that is studying of curiosities, raising of new inventions that are to gain credit to the author, starting of new notions that are to amuse the world, and serve them for diversion, or for trial of their acuteness, (which is all one as if it were some new play, as chess, or a game of cards that were invented;)—it is not in my case, as with one of the men of new systems, who are to build the credit of their own invented ones upon the ruin of the ancienter, and the discredit of those learned men that went before. Descartes, or Mr. Hobbes, or any of their improvers, have the same reason to make ado and be jealous about their notions and discoveries, as they call them, as a practising apothecary or mountebank has to be jealous about the compositions that are to go by his name; for, if it be not a livelihood is aimed, it is a reputation, and what I contend for reputation in I must necessarily envy another man's possession of. But as for me, could I make any of those admirable discoveries which were nothing worth but to be commended for their subtility, I would do as Timon did, (though out of a just contrary principle,) when he found gold,—after I had by chance dug upon it, and found what it was, I would put the clod over it again and say nothing of it, but forget it if I could. For my part, I am so far from thinking that mankind need any new discoveries, or that they lie in the dark, and are unhappy for want of them, that I know not what we could ask of God to know more than we do, or easily may do. The thing that I would ask of God should be to make men live up to what they know, and that they might be so wise as to desire to know no other things than what belonged to them, and what lay plain before them, and to know those to purpose; and that all other affectation of knowledge he would preserve us from as from a disease, in which sort of knowledge, if we excelled ever so much, and were masters of all as far as we coveted, it would not help us to be one jot the honester or better creatures. If there be any one that knows not, or believes not that all things in the universe are done for the best, and ever will go on so, because conducted by the same good cause; if there be any one who knows nothing like this of God, or can think of him constantly in this manner, and who cannot see that he himself is a rational and a sociable creature by his nature, and has an end to which he should refer his slightest actions, such a one is indeed wanting of knowledge. But if this be known, (as what is easier to know?) there is not then one study or science that signifies a rush, or that is not worse than ignorance, which gives a man no help in the pursuance of what he has learnt to be his duty; assists him not in the government of the irrational and brutal part of himself; which neither makes him more truly satisfied with what God does in the world, (for that is loving God,) nor more sociable, more honest, or more just, by removing of those passions which he has always to struggle with, that he may preserve himself so. If there are any other sciences that are worthy of esteem, they are what must relate to the well-being of mankind in societies; and on that account a button-maker is to be esteemed if he improves his art, and adds some conveniency to life. But how the founders of metaphysics, of rhetoric, of the arts of reasoning upon every thing, and never coming to end, of the arts that lie in words, and the turns of them, and the divisions that may be run upon them; how, I say, these men came to be preferred to the commonest mechanics, I cannot tell. Anciently, these notable inquisitive men, that were curious in what signified nothing, were called by a name that they thought themselves highly honoured with, and aspired no farther; they were called *sophists*, and never expected to be treated in the style of *philosophers*, or *professors of philosophy*. Who were true philosophers those wise men showed, (for amongst them the name came up,) that were in early times in Greece, whom the fancy of people that succeeded put into a certain number called *seven*, though the number was far greater; of whom not one but was signally remarkable for some service to his Commonwealth; who were all united in the strictest friendship, and by good offices, and helps one to another; and whose study was that of knowing themselves, and learning how to be serviceable to others. When Socrates lived, it was still thus, for he made the sophists know themselves and keep their distance; but when, after his death, the Socratic spirit sunk much, then began philosophy and sophistry to be better acquainted; but it was never known till more late days, that to profess philosophy was not to profess a life, and that it might be said of one, that *he was a great man in philosophy*, whilst nobody thought it to the purpose to ask, *how did he live?* what instances of his fortitude, contempt of interest, patience, &c.? What is philosophy, then, if nothing of this is in the case? What signifies it to know (if we could know) what elements the earth was made from, or how many atoms went to make up the round ball we live upon, though we know it to an atom? What signifies it to know whether the chaos was cast in Dr. Burnet's mould, or if God did it a quite different way? What if we knew the exact system of that of our frames; should we learn any more than this, that God did all things wisely and for the best? And are we not already satisfied of this, or may be assured of it by the thousandth part of what we know and see? If we should discover any thing that led us to conceive what were contrary to this, we should have learnt that which was worse than nothing. And better than we know already we cannot learn to know; for God cannot by any discovery be conceived to be more wise than perfectly so, and such it is easy to conceive him to be without knowing any more of the things of nature than we already do. What I count true learning, and all that we can profit by is, to know ourselves; what it is that makes us low and base, stubborn against reason, to be corrupted and drawn away from virtue, of different tempers, inconstant, and inconsistent with ourselves; to know how to be always friends with Providence, though death and many such dreadful businesses come in the way; and to be sociable and good towards all men, though they turn miscreants, or are injurious to us. Whilst I can get any thing that teaches this; whilst I can search any age or language that can assist me here; whilst such are philosophers and such philosophy whence I can learn aught from of this kind, there is no labour or study, no learning that I would not undertake. This is what I know to be sufficiently despised; for who is there that can think so much to the dishonour and prejudice of himself as to think he has odious vices within him which only labour and exercise can throw out? or who, if he sees sometimes any such ill sights in himself, can endure to look on that side long, but turns to that other side which his flatterers (and himself the greatest of them) always readily present to him? To look to our bodies and our fortunes is a solid and serious work, and has been, is, and will keep in good fashion in the world. *Animi autem medicina*, (says one who spoke, yet in a much better time than this,) *nec tam desiderata antequam inventa, nec tam culta posteaquam cognita est, nec tam multis grata et probata, pluribus etiam suspecta et invisa.* . . . But I must end, for I have almost out-writ the post-time. You see what it is to get me a-talking. I can add nothing now more than that I am with all sincerity your entire friend and humble servant,

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* Afterwards the third Earl of Shaftesbury, Author of the "Characteristics," &c.

A. Ashley.

"I have not yet received the book, but I have a thousand obligations to my Lady Masham."

About four years after the publication of the Essay, that is, towards the end of 1694, the new philosophy began to excite some attention at Oxford. It was Mr. Wynne, Fellow of Jesus College, who first appears to have recommended the Essay in that University; and it gives me pleasure to make known the opinions and the efforts of that excellent man, who was sincerely desirous of promoting the advancement of knowledge and science.

TO THE HONOURED MR. J. LOCKE,

OATES, IN ESSEX.

" HONOURED SIR,

" AFTER the repeated perusal of your excellent Essay concerning Human Understanding, (which will ever afford me the most agreeable and instructive entertainment,) though I feel myself deeply impressed with motives of the greatest respect and esteem for the author, yet I am very sensible how impertinent it would be for one of my rank and condition to pretend to make any private acknowledgements for so public and universal a benefit. But having some thoughts relating to your book, which may be of advantage to the public, I make bold to offer them to you, not doubting but that your candour will pardon my presumption, lives, wherein I think God, out of his infinite goodness, considering our ignorance and frailty, hath left us a great liberty. Love to God and charity to ourselves and neighbours are, no doubt, at all times indispensably necessary: but whilst we keep these warm in our hearts, and sincerely practise what they upon all occasions suggest to us, I cannot but think that God allows us in the ordinary actions of our lives a great latitude; so that two or more things being proposed to be done, neither of which crosses that fundamental law, but may very well consist with the sincerity wherewith we love God and our neighbour, I think it is at our choice to do either of them.

"The reasons that make me of this opinion are; 1st. That I cannot imagine that God, who has compassion upon our weakness and knows how we are made, would put poor men, nay, the best of men, those that seek him with sincerity and truth, under almost an absolute necessity of sinning perpetually against him, which will almost inevitably follow if there be no latitude at all allowed us in the occurrences of our lives, but that every instant of our being in the world has always incumbent on it one certain action exclusive of all others. For according to this supposition, the best being always all probability it would have the same effect upon us all, if it were but read and considered by all. Now, in order to this, I am inclined to think that it would be very useful to publish an abridgment of the book. If some of the larger explications (some of which are but incidental to the general design of the work) were contracted, it might be reduced to the compass of a moderate 8vo. I need not represent to you the advantages of a small over a large volume; but shall only tell you that it would be of excellent use to us of this place, to be put into the hands of our young men, and be read and explained to them instead of those trifling and insignificant books, which serve only to perplex and confound, instead of enlightening and improving our reason. I do not see that there is any thing wanting in it to complete the third part in your division of science. I know you mention an epitome of the work in your preface; but 'tis, as I am informed, in a language not commonly understood among us, and too scarce to answer the end which I propose. If, upon this intimation, you shall think what is here offered worthy of your regard, I would willingly contribute any assistance that I may be capable of to ease you of the trouble. I humbly crave your pardon for this bold intrusion, and beg leave to subscribe myself, what I sincerely am, with all respect imaginable, honoured Sir,

Your obedient and very humble Servant,
JOHN WYNNE."

"Jesus College, Oxon. Jan. 31, 1695."

THE ANSWER TO THE ABOVE LETTER, INDORSED J. LOCKE TO J. WYNNE.

"SIR, "Oates, 3d Feb. 1694-5.

"YOU cannot think it strange that I should be surprised at the receipt of a letter of so much civility to me from a person I had not the honour to know, and of so great commendation of my book from a place where I thought it little taken notice of; and though the compliments you are pleased to bestow both on me and it are above what belongs to either, yet I cannot but acknowledge myself sensibly obliged by the kind thoughts you are biassed with in favour both of me and my Essay. It having been begun by chance, and continued with no other design but a free inquiry into the subject, it would have been great vanity in me to publish it with hopes, that what had been writ for the diversion of my idle hours, should be made serious business of studious men who know how to employ their time. Those who had leisure to throw away in speculations a little out of the road, I guessed might perhaps look into it. If by the credit and recommendation of those, who, like you, have entertained it with a favourable opinion, it be read farther, and get into the hands of men of letters and study, it is more than I could expect from a Treatise I writ in a plain and popular style, which having in it nothing of the air of learning, nor so much as the language of the schools, was little suited to the use or relish of those who, as teachers or learners, applied themselves to the mysteries of scholastic knowledge. But you, I see, are got above fashion and prejudice; and you must give me leave to have no ordinary thoughts of a man, who, by those two great opposers of all new efforts of improvement, will not suffer yourself to be hindered from contriving how to make the way to real knowledge more open and easy to those beginners who have set their faces that way. I should be very glad if any thing in my book could be made useful to that purpose. I agree with you, that most of the larger explications may be looked on as incidental to what you design, and so may by one, who would out of my book make a system of the third part in my division of science, be wholly passed by or but lightly touched on; to which let me add that several of those repetitions, which for reasons then I let it go with, may be omitted, and all the parts contracted into that form and bigness you propose. But with my little health, and less leisure, considering that I have been so long a stranger to systems, and am utterly ignorant what would suit those you design it for, it is not for me to go about it, though what you have said would incline me to believe it might not be wholly lost labour. It is not for nothing I hope that this thought is fallen into the mind of one who is much abler to execute it; you, I see, are as much master of my notions as I myself, and better able to put them together to the purpose you intend. I say not this to decline giving my assistance, if you, in civility, think I can afford you any. The Abstract, which was published, in French, in the Bibliothèque Universelle, of 1688, will neither in its size or design answer the end you propose; but if the rough draught of it, which I think I have in English somewhere amongst my papers, may be of any use to you, you may command it, or whatever service I can do you in any kind; for I am, with a very particular esteem and respect,

Sir, your most humble Servant."

After the first objection had been overcome, the success of the Essay must be considered to have been very great, as its several successive editions during the life of the author, as well as an excellent translation by M. Coste into the French language, sufficiently attest. If, however, the Essay received the approbation of enlightened men, not only in England, but on the Continent, yet after an interval of several years from its first publication, when time had been allowed to sift its merits, and decide its character, it excited the disapprobation of the Heads of Houses at Oxford, who at one time took counsel to banish it from that seat of learning. Their proceedings are described in the following letter:—

MR. TYRRELL TO LOCKE.

"DEAR SIR, "April, 1704.

"IN answer to yours received by our good friend Mr. Church, the best information I can give you concerning the forbidding the reading of your Essay is as follows: That in the beginning of November last, there was a meeting of the Heads of Houses then in town; it was there proposed by Dr. Mill, and seconded by Dr. Maunder, that there was a great decay of long-cut exercises in the University, which could not be attributed to any thing so much as the new philosophy which was so much read, and in particular, your Book and Le Clerc's Philosophy: against which it was offered, that a Programma should be published, forbidding all tutors to read them to their pupils. This was like, at first, to have passed, till it was opposed by some others there present, and particularly by Dr. Dunstan; who not only vindicated your Book, but said that he thought the making the Programma would do more harm than good; first, by making so much more noise abroad, as if the University went about to forbid the reading of all philosophy but that of Aristotle; next, that he thought that, instead of the end proposed, it would make young men more desirous to buy and read those books, when they were once forbid, than they were before. Then, at another meeting, their resolution upon the whole was, that upon Dr. Edwards' proposal they agreed, instead of a Programma, that all Heads of Houses should give the tutors private instructions not to read those books to their pupils, and to prevent their doing it by themselves as much as lay in their power; and yet I do not find, after all, that any such thing has been put in execution in those Colleges where I have any acquaintance, as particularly in University, Magdalen, New College, and Jesus, all which have Heads that are sufficiently of the High Church party; so that I believe they, finding it like to have little effect, have thought it best to let it drop. Mr. Percy, the son of your old acquaintance at Christ-church, not only read your book himself, but encouraged others to do it. I hope you will not impute the indiscreet zeal of a few to the whole University, any more than we should lay the failing of the Bishops to the Church. Your most faithful servant,

T. TYRRELL."

It is here necessary to give some account of the attack which Dr. Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, made upon the Essay, as also upon the principles of the author. If it be true, as it was reported at the time, that the Reverend Prelate died from vexation at the issue of the contest he had engaged in, his memory as a metaphysician has at least been preserved from oblivion by the celebrity of his antagonist, and by his own signal defeat.

The circumstances which led to the controversy were these:—Toland had published a book, called "Christianity not Mysterious," in which he endeavoured to prove that there is nothing in the Christian religion contrary to reason, or even above it; and in explaining his doctrines, had used several arguments from the Essay on Human Understanding. It happened also that some Unitarian Treatises, published nearly at the same time, maintained that there was nothing in the Christian religion but what was rational and intelligible; and Locke having asserted in his writings, that Revelation delivers nothing contrary to reason; the Bishop of Worcester,* defending the mysteries of the

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* It seems probable that Locke and Dr. Stillingfleet, though now engaged in adverse controversy, had formerly belonged to the same party; the Bishop of Lincoln having conferred upon him his first dignity in the church at Shaftesbury's request.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY,
AT WINBORNE ST. GILES, DORSETSHIRE.

"Hatton Garden, Jan. 27, 1674.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,

"That your Lordship may perceive I have not been unmindful of the promise I made, I have conferred on Dr. Stillingfleet the Prebend of North Kelsey, which is the more acceptable to him because it lies very conveniently, and is that which he desired.

"I wish your Lordship all happiness, from my heart. The times are bad, but I comfort myself with the close of Bishop Duppa's Epistle before Archbishop Spottswood's History of Scotland—

'Non, si mala nunc, et olim sic erit.'

"Beseeching God to guide and protect you, I rest,

"Your Lordship's most humble and affectionate servant,

G. LINCOLN."

Trinity against Toland and the Unitarians, denounced some of Locke's principles as heretical, and classed his works with those of the abovementioned writers. Locke answered the Bishop, who replied the same year. This reply was confuted by a second letter of Locke's, which produced a second answer from the Bishop in 1698. Locke again replied in a third letter, wherein he treated more largely of the certainty of reason by ideas, of "the certainty of faith, of the resurrection of the same body, and the immateriality of the soul." He showed the perfect agreement of his principles with the Christian religion, and that he had advanced nothing which had the least tendency to scepticism, with which the Bishop had very ignorantly charged him. The death of Stillingfleet put an end to the controversy; in which we cannot but admire Locke's strength of reasoning, the great clearness and precision with which he explains his own notions and principles, and exposes and confutes those of his adversary. The Bishop was by no means able to maintain his opinions against Locke, whose reasons he did not understand any more than the subject itself about which they disputed. The Reverend Prelate had employed his time chiefly in the study of Ecclesiastical

Antiquities, and in multifarious reading; but was no great philosopher, and had never accustomed himself to that close way of thinking and reasoning, in which Locke so highly excelled. Notwithstanding the reason which Locke had to complain of the unfounded charges brought against him by the Bishop writing upon a subject upon which he was wholly ignorant, yet he always treated him with the respect due to his rank, whilst he triumphantly confuted his mistakes, and from his own words convicted him of inaccuracy and ignorance.

"Never was a controversy," Le Clerc observes, "managed with so much skill on one side, and on the other part with so much misrepresentation, confusion, and ignorance, alike discreditable to the cause and the advocate."

In other times, and under other circumstances, had a contest arisen between a Philosopher and a Churchman, the cause, if unfavourable to the latter, would have been removed into the Inquisition, or into the Court of High Ecclesiastical Commission. Perhaps this Prelate of our reformed church might, in the extremity of his distress, (as * "the method and management of that holy office were not wholly

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* Second Reply to the Bishop of Worcester.

unknown to his Lordship, nor had escaped his great reading,") breathe a regret, that he could not employ the arms of the Roman Church, or of the Stuart Princes, and silence his adversary by the same *ultima ratio* of ecclesiastics, which he had seen so successfully used against Galileo, scarce fifty years before.

In a letter written to his relation, Mr. King,* during the controversy with the Bishop of Worcester, Locke, in noticing the observations and remarks of some of his adversaries, thus expresses his contempt:—

"November 5, 1698.

* * *

"If those gentlemen think that the Bishop hath the advantage by not making good one of those many propositions in debate between us, but by asking a question, a personal question, nothing to the purpose, I shall not envy him such a victory. In the mean time, if this be all they have to say, the world that sees not with their eyes, will see what disputants for truth those are who make to themselves occasions of calumny, and think that a triumph. The Bishop is to prove that my book has something in it that is inconsistent with the doctrine of the Trinity, and all that upon examination he does, is to ask me, whether I believe the doctrine of the Trinity as it has been received in the Christian Church?—a worthy proof![*]

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* Afterwards Lord Chancellor.

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[*] EXTRACT OF LETTER, FROM LEIBNITZ TO DR. BURNET, 1697.

"Je liray avec attention les Amœbæa de Monsieur l'Evêque de Worcester et de Monsieur Locke. Je ne doute point que celui-ci ne se tire fort bien d'affaire. Il a trop de jugement pour donner prise à Messieurs les ecclésiastiques, qui sont les directeurs naturels des peuples, et dont il faut suivre les formulaires autant qu'il est possible. Et j'ay dejà remarqué dans les endroits que j'ai vûs d'abord que Monsieur Locke se justifie d'une manière très solide. Il m'est arrivé quelque chose d'approchant avec le célèbre Monsieur Arnaud. Il avait vû quelque chose de moy, et il avait crû y trouver des mauvaises conséquences, mais quand il eut vu mes explications il me déchargea hautement lui-même, et quoique nous ne fussions pas d'accord en tout, il ne laissa pas de reconnoître que mes sentimens n'avoient rien de mauvais.

"J'imagine qu'il pourra arriver la même chose à l'égard de Monsieur de Worcester, car les sentimens peuvent demeurer differens sans être dangereuses ou repréhensibles. Je vous ai marqué autrefois en quoi je diffère un peu moy même de Monsieur Locke, et je serai bien aise d'en avoir un jour votre sentiment. Les miens en philosophie approchent un peu davantage de ceux de feu Madame la Comtesse de Conway, et tient le milieu entre Platon et Démocrite; puisque je crois que tout se fait méchaniquement, comme veulent Démocrite et Descartes, contre l'opinion de Monsieur Morus et ses semblables. Et que néanmoins tout se fait encore vitalement et

And in a draft of a letter on the proper manner of conducting a controversy, Locke says:—

"If readers were not willing to cosin themselves, how could they, where they pretend to seek for truth and information, content themselves with the jingle of words, and something they know not what, that looks like a sprinkling of wit or satire, in all which they find not the least improvement of their knowledge or reason? Those whose aim is to divert, and make men laugh, let them write plays and romances, and there sport themselves with words and false images of things as much as they please. But a professor, to teach or maintain truth, should have nothing to do with all that tinsel trumpery; should speak plain and clear, and be afraid of a fallacy or equivocation, however prettily it might look, and be fit to cheat the reader; who on his side should, in an author who pretends instruction, abominate all such

suivant les causes finales, tout étant plein de vie et de perception, contre l'opinion des Démocriticiens. Un ami d'Hollande me demanda si mes remarques sur les essais de Monsieur Locke ne pourroient pas être jointes à la nouvelle edition de Hollande; mais je m'en excusai, car il auroit été injuste de publier dans son propre ouvrage quelque chose qui auroit pu paroitre fait contre lui sans lui donner lieu d'y joindre sa reponse."

arts, and him that uses them, as much as he would a common cheat who endeavours to put off brass money for standard silver."

It was not in this public controversy only that the author of the Essay was obliged to labour in defence of his work. He was equally anxious to satisfy the scruples of his friends, and to clear up any doubts and difficulties which they suggested. To Mr. Tyrrell he writes in explanation of some points which he had misunderstood, and successfully obviates the chief objections then and since urged against what have been called the dangerous principles of the Essay.

"DEAR SIR, "Oates, Aug. 4th, 90.

"I see you and your friends are so far from understanding me yet rightly, that I shall give you the trouble of a few lines to make my meaning clearer, if possible, than it is; though I am apt to think, that to any unprejudiced reader, who will consider what I there ought to say, and not what he will fancy I should say besides my purpose, it is as plain as any thing can well be.—L. 1, c. 3, s. 13. where it was proper for me to speak my opinion of the law of nature, I affirm in as direct words as can ordinarily be made use of to express one's thoughts, that there is a law of nature knowable by the light of nature--Book second, c. 27. s. 7, and 8, where I have occasion to speak indefinitely of the divine law, it is objected I could mean none other but the divine revealed law exclusive of the law of nature, and that for two reasons; the first is, because I call it a law given by God to mankind; the law of nature, then, in these men's opinions, had not God for its author; for if it had, he gave it to mankind; and if he did, I think it is no derogation to it to say, he gave it to mankind. I fear somebody on the other side will from this very sentence argue, that I could not mean the Mosaical or evangelical law of God. I am sure they may with more reason, for neither of those, as I take it, was given to mankind; which is a term which, in my sense, includes all men. 'Tis plain the Mosaical law was not given to mankind; for it was, Hear O Israel! and I never yet met with any one that said the laws of Moses were the laws of mankind; and as for the revealed will of God in the New Testament, which was a revelation made to the children of men 2000 years after Moses, and 4000 years after the Creation; how that can be called a law given to mankind is hard to conceive, unless that men born before the time of the Gospel were no part of mankind, or the Gospel were revealed before it was revealed.

"The other reason I find in your letter why I could not there mean the law of nature, is because the divine law I there speak of has inforcements of rewards and punishments in another life. Your letter indeed says, *whose only enforcements*, but *only* is of your putting in, and not mine, as you will perceive if you read the passage in my book again; and that, I suppose, would have as well excluded the law of Moses, as well as that of nature, and I imagine the law of the Gospel too. But if those gentlemen think that it is a denial of that branch of the divine law which is called the law of nature, to speak of a divine law whose inforcements are the rewards and punishments of another life, which is as much as to say the law of nature has no such inforcements: and if they are of that opinion, they cannot but be very sincere and zealous sticklers for a divine law of morality only upon rewards and punishments of this life; 'tis easy to see what a kind of morality they intend to make of it. You tell me, you could not tell me how to answer them; I am sorry for it, not being able to see any difficulty. The reason you give in these words: *I must confess I could not tell* positively *what reply to make, because you do not expressly tell us where to find this law, unless in the S. S.; and since it is likewise much doubted by some whether the rewards and punishments you mention, can be demonstrated as established by your divine law.* This reason or reasons seem very admirable to me, that I could not mean the law of nature, because I did not expressly tell you where to find the law, unless in the S. S. I do not remember I any where tell you it is to be found in the S. S. Cannot I tell you, in matter-of-fact, that some men, many men, do compare their actions to a divine law, and thereby form the ideas of their moral rectitûde or pravity, without telling where that law is to be found? Another thing that stumbles you is, that *it is much doubted by some whether the rewards and punishments I mention, can be demonstrated as established by any divine law.* Will nothing then pass with you in religion or morality but what you can demonstrate? If you are of so nice a stomach, I am afraid, if I should now examine how much of your religion or morality you could demonstrate, how much you would have left: not but that I think that demonstration in these matters may be carried a great deal farther than it is. But there are many, perhaps millions of propositions in mathematics which are demonstrable, which neither you nor I can demonstrate, which, perhaps, no man has yet demonstrated, or will do, before the end of the world. The probability of rewards and punishments in another life, I should think, might serve for an inforcement of the divine law, if that were the business in hand; but in the present case, demonstration of future rewards and punishments was no more my business, than whether the squaring of the circle could be demonstrated or no. But I know not how you would still have me, besides my purpose, and against all rules of method, run out into a discourse of the divine law, show how and when it was promulgated to mankind, demonstrate its inforcement by rewards and punishments in another life, in a place where I had nothing to do with all this, and in a case where some men's bare supposition of such a law, whether true or false, served my turn. It was my business there, to show how man came by moral ideas or notions, and that I thought they did by comparing their actions to a rule. The next thing I endeavoured to show is, what rules men take to be the standards to which they compare their actions to frame moral ideas, and these I take to be the divine law, the municipal law, and the law of reputation or fashion. If this be so in matter-of-fact, I am in the right in all that I pretended, and was proposed in that place. If I am out in either of these propositions, I must confess I am in an error, but cannot be accused for not having treated more amply of these rules in that place, or entered into a full disquisition of their nature, force, or obligation, when, if you will look into the end of that chapter, you will find it is not of concernment to my purpose in that chapter, whether they be as much as true or no; but only that they be considered in the minds of men as rules to which they compare their actions, and judge of their morality. But yet you think me guilty of other men's mistakes, because I did not write plainer, and I think they might have considered better what I writ. I imagine, what I was there to make out I have done very plainly; and if readers will not allow so much attention to the book they read, as to mind what the author is upon, and whether he directly pursues the argument in hand, they must blame themselves, if they raise doubts and scruples to themselves, where the author gave no occasion for any. And if they be illnatured as well as groundless objections, one may suspect that they meant not over well to the author, or the argument they are so scrupulous about. You say, that to show what I meant, I should, after divine law, have added in a parenthesis, *which others call the law of nature*, which had been so far from what I meant, that it had been contrary to it, for I meant the divine law indefinitely, and in general, however made known or supposed; and if ever any men referred their actions to the law of nature as to a divine law, 'twas plain I meant, that if any judged of their actions by the law of Moses or Jesus Christ, as by a divine law, 'twas plain I meant that also: nay, the Alcoran of the Mahometans, and the Hanscrit of the Bramins could not be in this case excluded, (though perhaps you or your friends would have thought it more worth their censure if I had put them in, and then I had lain open to I know not what interpretation,) or any other supposed divine revelation whether true or false. For it being taken for a divine law, it would have served men, who make use of it, and judged of their actions by it, to have given them notions of morality or moral ideas, and that was all I was to show; indeed, if you can tell of any other rule but, 1st. Divine laws or the law of God; 2nd. Civil laws, or the laws of the magistrate; 3rd. The law of fashion or reputation, whereby men judge of the goodness of their actions, I have then failed in giving a full account whence men get their moral ideas: but that is all I can be accused to have failed in here; for I did not design to treat of the grounds of true morality, which is necessary to true and perfect happiness; it had been impertinent if I had so designed; my business was only to show whence men had moral ideas, and what they were, and that, I suppose, is sufficiently done in the chapter.

"I am,

J. LOCKE."

The occupations which now engaged the attention of this great man were of the most varied and opposite description. He was at the same time a practical politician, and a profound speculative philosopher: a man of the world, engaged in the business of the world, yet combining with all those avocations the purity and simplicity of a primitive Christian. He pursued every subject with incredible activity and diligence; always regulating his numerous inquiries by the love of truth, and directing them to the improvement and benefit of his country and of mankind.

His literary employments at this period were the Treatises on Government, written in defence of the Revolution against the Tory enemy. And in the following year, 1690, he published a Second Letter for Toleration, (without the name of its author,) in vindication of the principles of religious liberty, which had as naturally been attacked by a Churchman.

Perhaps the most deadly blow which the Court and Church had ever directed against the liberty of the country, was the act of 1662, for preventing abuses in Printing. It established a censorship in England, and under the specious pretence of prohibiting the printing of books contrary to the Christian faith, or of seditious works, the number of printing-presses was limited by law within the narrowest bounds, and all works were subjected to the previous licence of the governors of the Church and State.

This act was at first passed for two years in 1662, and was afterwards continued in force by several re-enactments till 1679, when it expired, and the country was exempt from that tyranny (though from no other) for six years, till 1685, when it was again revived for seven years more, and at the expiration of these seven years was continued for a year longer, when at last by the refusal of the House of Commons it was suffered finally to expire. The following copy of the objectionable clauses of the act, with Locke's observations upon each separate clause, will be found very interesting, as a record of the existence of a censorship in England, accompanied by the comments of so competent a judge, who had witnessed both the beginning and the end of that most arbitrary measure. These notes were probably written at the time when the Printing Act was last under consideration in Parliament, in 1694. If the unanswerable objections which Locke stated against every part of that act contributed in any degree to prevent its farther re-enactment, his exertions may be regarded as no small service rendered to the cause of liberty and truth.

"ANNO 14° CAR. 2. CAP. XXXIII.

"An Act for preventing abuses in printing seditious, treasonable, and unlicensed Books and Pamphlets, and for regulating Printing and Printing-presses."

"§ 2. Heretical, seditious, schismatical, or offensive books, wherein any thing contrary to Christian faith, or the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, is asserted; or which may tend to the scandal of religion, or the church, or the government, or governors of the church, state, or of any corporation, or particular person, are prohibited to be printed, imported, published, or sold."

Some of these terms are so general and comprehensive, or at least so submitted to the sense and interpretation of the governors of Church and State for the time being, that it is impossible any book should pass but just what suits their humours. And who knows but that the motion of the earth may be found to be heretical, as asserting Antipodes once was?

I know not why a man should not have liberty to print whatever he would speak; and to be answerable for the one, just as he is for the other, if he transgresses the law in either. But gagging a man, for fear he should talk heresy or sedition, has no other ground than such as will make gyves necessary, for fear a man should use violence if his hands were free, and must at last end in the imprisonment of all who you will suspect may be guilty of treason or misdemeanour. To prevent men being undiscovered for what they print, you may prohibit any book to be printed, published, or sold, without the printer's or bookseller's name, under great penalties, whatever be in it. And then let the printer or bookseller, whose name is to it, be answerable* for whatever is against law in it, as if he were the author, unless he can produce the person he had it from, which is all the restraint ought to be upon printing.

"§ 3. All books prohibited to be printed that are not first entered in the register of the Company of Stationers, and licensed."

Whereby it comes to pass, that sometimes, when a book is brought to be entered in the register of the Company of Stationers, if they think it may turn to account, they enter it there as theirs, whereby the other person is hindered from printing and publishing it; an example whereof can be given by Mr. Awnsham Churchill.

"§ 6. No books to be printed or imported, which any person or persons by force or virtue of any letters patent, have the right, privilege, authority, or allowance, solely to print, upon pain of forfeiture, and being proceeded against as an offender against this present act, and upon the further penalty and forfeiture of six shillings and eight-pence for every such book or books, or part of such book or books imported, bound, stitched, or put to sale, a moiety to the King, and a moiety to the informer."

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* This is now the law.

By this clause, the Company of Stationers have a monopoly of all the classical authors; and scholars cannot, but at excessive rates, have the fair and correct edition of those books printed beyond seas. For the Company of Stationers have obtained from the Crown a patent to print all, or at least the greatest part, of the classic authors, upon pretence, as I hear, that they should be well and truly printed; whereas they are by them scandalously ill printed, both for letter, paper, and correctness, and scarce one tolerable edition is made by them of any one of them. Whenever any of these books of better editions are imported from beyond seas, the Company seizes them, and makes the importers pay 6s. 8d. for each book so imported, or else they confiscate them, unless they are so bountiful as to let the importer compound with them at a lower rate. There are daily examples of this; I shall mention one, which I had from the sufferer's own mouth. Mr. Samuel Smith, two or three years since, imported from Holland Tully's Works, of a very fine edition, with new corrections made by Gronovius, who had taken the pains to compare that which was thought the best edition before with several ancient MSS., and to correct his by them. These Tully's Works, upon pretence of their patent for their alone printing Tully's Works, or any part thereof, and by virtue of this clause of this act, the Company of Stationers seized and kept a good while in their custody, demanding 6s. 8d. per book: how at last he compounded with them I know not, but by this act scholars are subjected to the power of these dull wretches, who do not so much as understand Latin, whether they shall have any true or good copies of the best ancient Latin authors, unless they pay them 6s. 8d. a book for that leave.

Another thing observable is, that whatever money, by virtue of this clause, they have levied upon the subject, either as forfeiture or composition, I am apt to believe not one farthing of it has ever been accounted for to the King, and it is probable considerable sums have been raised.

Upon occasion of this instance of the classic authors, I demand whether, if another act for printing should be made, it be not reasonable that nobody should have any peculiar right in any book which has been in print fifty years, but any one as well as another might have the liberty to print it; for by such titles as these, which lie dormant, and hinder others, many good books come quite to be lost. But be that determined as it will, in regard of those authors who now write and sell their copies to booksellers, this certainly is very absurd at first sight, that any person or company should now have a title to the printing of the works of Tully, Cæsar, or Livy, who lived so many ages since, in exclusion of any other; nor can there be any reason in nature why I might not print them as well as the Company of Stationers, if I thought fit. This liberty, to any one, of printing them, is certainly the way to have them the cheaper and the better; and it is this which, in Holland, has produced so many fair and excellent editions of them, whilst the printers all strive to out-do one another, which has also brought in great sums to the trade of Holland. Whilst our Company of Stationers, having the monopoly here by this act, and their patents, slobber them over as they can cheapest, so that there is not a book of them vended beyond seas, both for their badness and dearness; nor will the scholars beyond seas look upon a book of them now printed at London, so ill and false are they; besides, it would be hard to find how a restraint of printing the classic authors does any way prevent printing seditious and treasonable pamphlets, which is the title and pretence of this act.

"§ 9. No English book may be imprinted or imported from beyond the sea. No foreigner, or other, unless a stationer of London, may import or sell any books of any language whatsoever."

This clause serves only to confirm and enlarge the Stationers' monopoly.

"§ 10. In this §, besides a great many other clauses to secure the Stationers' monopoly of printing, which are very hard upon the subject, the Stationers' interest is so far preferred to all others, that a landlord, who lets a house, forfeits five pounds if he know that his tenant has a printing-press in it, and does not give notice of it to the masters and wardens of the Stationers' Company. Nor must a joiner, carpenter, or smith, &c. work about a printing-press, without giving the like notice, under the like penalty."

Which is greater caution than I think is used about the presses for coinage to secure the people from false money.

"By § 11. the number of master-printers were reduced from a greater number to twenty, and the number of master-founders of letters reduced to fewer; and upon vacancy, the number to be filled by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and to give security not to print any unlicensed books."

This hinders a man who has served out his time the benefit of setting up his trade, which, whether it be not against the right of the subject, as well as contrary to common equity, deserves to be considered.

"§ 12. The number of presses that every one of the twenty master-printers shall have are reduced to two. Only those who have been masters, or upper-wardens of the Company may have three, and as many more as the Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of London will allow.

"§ 13. Every one who has been master, or upper-warden of the Company, may have three; every one of the livery two; and every master-printer of the yeomanry but one apprentice at a time."

By which restraint of presses, and taking of apprentices, and the prohibition in § 14, of taking or using any journeymen except Englishmen and freemen of the trade, is the reason why our printing is so very bad, and yet so very dear in England: they who are hereby privileged to the exclusion of others, working and setting the price as they please, whereby any advantage that might be made to the realm by this manufacture is wholly lost to England, and thrown into the hands of our neighbours; the sole manufacture of printing bringing into the Low Countries great sums every year. But our Ecclesiastical laws seldom favour trade, and he that reads this act with attention will find it upse* ecclesiastical. The nation loses by this act, for our books are so dear, and ill printed, that they have very little vent among foreigners, unless now and then by truck for theirs, which yet shows how much those who buy the books printed here are imposed on, since a book printed at London may be bought cheaper at Amsterdam than in Paul's Church-yard, notwithstanding all the charge and hazard of transportation: for their printing being free and unrestrained, they sell their books at so much a cheaper rate than our booksellers do ours, that in truck, valuing ours proportionably to their own, or their own equally to ours, which is the same thing, they can afford books received from London upon such exchanges cheaper in Holland than our stationers sell them in England. By this act England loses in general, scholars in particular are ground, and nobody gets, but a lazy, ignorant Company of Stationers, to say no worse of them; *but any thing, rather than let Mother Church be disturbed in her opinions or impositions by any bold inquirer from the press.*

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* A low word, derived from the Dutch *upzee,* signifying highly.

"§ 15. One or more of the messengers of his Majesty's chamber, by warrant under his Majesty's sign-manual, or under the hand of one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, or the master and wardens of the Company of Stationers, taking with them a constable and such assistance as they shall think needful, has an unlimited power to search *all houses*, and to seize upon all books which they shall but think fit to suspect."

How the gentry, much more how the peers of England came thus to prostitute their houses to the suspicion of any body, much less a messenger upon pretence of searching for books, I cannot imagine. Indeed, the House of Peers, and others not of the trades mentioned in this act, are pretended to be exempted from this search, § 18, where it is provided they shall not be searched but by special warrant under the King's sign-manual, or under the hands of one of the Secretaries of State. But this is but the shadow of an exemption, for they are still subject to be searched, every corner and coffer in them, under pretence of unlicensed books, a mark of slavery which, I think, their ancestors would never have submitted to. They so lay their houses, which are their castles, open, not to the pursuit of the law against a malefactor convicted of misdemeanour, or accused upon oath, but to the suspicion of having unlicensed books, which is, whenever it is thought fit to search his house to see what is in it.

"§ 16. All printers offending any way against this act are incapacitated to exercise their trade for three years. And for the second offence, perpetual incapacity, with any other punishment not reaching to life or limb."

And thus a man is to be undone and starved for printing Dr. Bury's Case, or the History of Tom Thumb, unlicensed.

"§ 17. Three copies of every book printed are to be reserved, whereof two to be sent to the two Universities by the master of the Stationers' Company."

This clause, upon examination, I suppose, will be found to be mightily, if not wholly neglected, as all things that are good in this act, the Company of Stationers minding nothing in it but what makes for their monopoly. I believe that if the public libraries of both Universities be looked into, (which this will give a fit occasion to do,) there will not be found in them half, perhaps not one in ten of the copies of books printed since this act.

§ Last. This act, though made in a time when every one strove to be forwardest to make court to the Church and Court, by giving whatever was asked, yet this was so manifest an invasion of the trade, liberty, and property of the subject, that it was made to be in force only for two years. From which, 14 Car. 2, it has, by the *joint endeavour of Church and Court*, been, from time to time, received, and so continued to this day. Every one being answerable for books he publishes, prints, or sells, containing any thing seditious or against law, makes this or any other act for the restraint of printing very needless in that part, and so it may be left free in that part as it was before 14 Car. 2. That any person or company should have patents for the sole printing of ancient authors is very unreasonable and injurious to learning; and for those who purchase copies from authors that now live and write, it may be reasonable to limit their property to a certain number of years after the death of the author, or the first printing of the book, as, suppose, fifty or seventy years. This I am sure, it is very absurd and ridiculous that any one now living should pretend to have a propriety in, or a power to dispose of the propriety of any copy or writings of authors who lived before printing was known or used in Europe.

This act, which had been renewed once since the Revolution, was suffered finally to expire in 1694. It may appear extraordinary that the same Parliament which passed the Act of Settlement, and embodied the Declaration of Rights in our statutes, should also have subjected the press to the fetters imposed upon it by the former printing acts of Charles and James II. But as the Revolution was effected by the assistance of the Church, the new government might perhaps wish to avoid giving offence to that powerful party by too sudden a repeal of this their favourite act.

It was probably at this period, during Locke's residence in London, which continued about two years after the Revolution of 1688, that he became known to Newton, some of whose letters fortunately have been preserved. With Sir John Somers he lived at this time in habits of intimate friendship, and one of his recreations was a weekly meeting for the purpose of conversation and discussion, held at the house of Lord Pembroke, the same Earl of Pembroke to whom Locke had dedicated the Essay.

Several letters from Newton, from Lord Monmouth, better known as the celebrated Earl of Peterborough in the succeeding reign, and from Lord Somers, are here inserted; and considering by whom they were written, and to whom they were addressed, they will not be read with indifference, or considered superfluous.

The following papers, indorsed "Mr. Newton, March 1689," are the earliest in point of date; they are Newton's Demonstration of Kepler's Observation, that the planets move in ellipses, as communicated by that great philosopher. Their construction and demonstration differ materially from those in the Principia, and the Lemmas which are prefixed are expressed in a more explanatory form than those of the Principia usually are.

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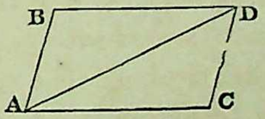
A DEMONSTRATION, THAT THE PLANETS, BY THEIR GRAVITY TOWARDS THE SUN, MAY MOVE IN ELLIPSES.

"Hypoth. 1.—Bodies move uniformly in straight lines, unless so far as they are retarded by the resistance of the medium, or disturbed by some other force.

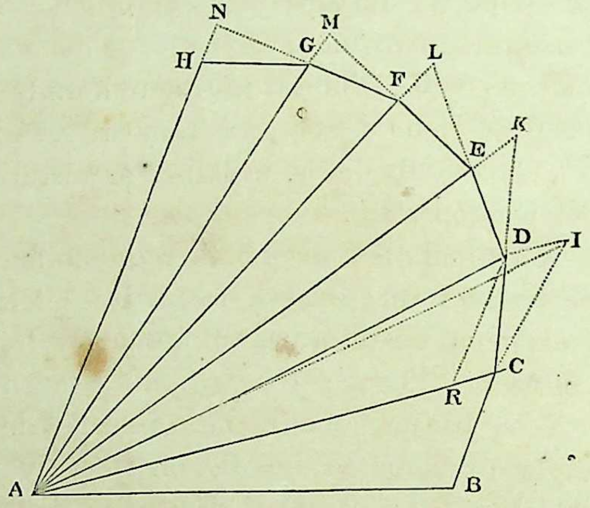
"Hypoth. 2.—The alteration of motion is proportional to the force by which it is altered.

"Hypoth. 3.—Motions impressed by forces in different lines, if those lines be taken in proportion to the motions, and completed into a parallelogram, compose a motion whereby the diagonal of the parallelogram shall be described in the same time in which the sides thereof would have been described by the compounding motions apart. The motions A B, A C, compound the motion A D.



PROP. 1.

"If a body move in a vacuo, and be continually attracted towards an immovable centre, it shall constantly move in one and the same plane, and in that plane, with a right line, drawn continually from its own centre to the immovable centre of attraction, describe equal areas in equal times.



"Let A be the centre towards which the body is attracted, and suppose the attraction acts not continually, but by discontinued impressions, or impulses, made at equal intervals of time, which intervals we will consider as physical moments. Let BC be the right line in which it begins to move, and which it describes with uniform motion in the first physical moment, before the attraction makes its first impression upon it. At C let it be attracted towards the centre A by one impulse; produce BC to I, so that CI be equal to BC. In CA take CR in such proportion to CI as the motion which the impulse alone would have begotten hath to the motion of the body before the impulse was impressed. And because these two motions apart would, in the second moment of time, have carried the body, the one to I, by reason of the equality of CI and BC, and the other to R, by reason of the aforesaid proportion, complete the parallelogram IC, RD, and they shall both together, in the same time of that second moment, carry it in the diagonal of that parallelogram to D by Hypoth. 3.

"Now, because the basis BC, CI of the triangle ABC, ACI, are equal, those two triangles shall be equal; also, because the triangles ACI and ACD stand upon the same base, AC, and between two parallel lines, AC and DI, they shall be equal; and therefore the triangle ACD, described in the second moment, shall be equal to the triangle ABC, described in the first moment. And by the same reason, if the body at the end of the second, third, fourth, fifth, and following moments, be attracted again by single impulses successively in D, E, F, G, H, &c. describing the line D, E, in the third moment, EF in the fourth, FG in the fifth, &c.; the triangles AED, shall be equal to the triangle A D C, and all the following triangles to one another. And by consequence the areas compounded of these equal triangles (as A B C, A E G, A B G, &c.) are to one another as the times in which they are described. Suppose now, that the moments of time be diminished in length, and increased in number in *infinitum*, so that the impulses or impressions of the attraction may become continual, and that the line B C, D E F G H, by the infinite number, and infinite littleness of its sides B C, C D, D E, &c. may become a curve line; and the body, by that continual attraction, shall describe areas of this curve, A B E, A E G, A B G, &c. proportional to the times in which they are described, which was to be demonstrated.

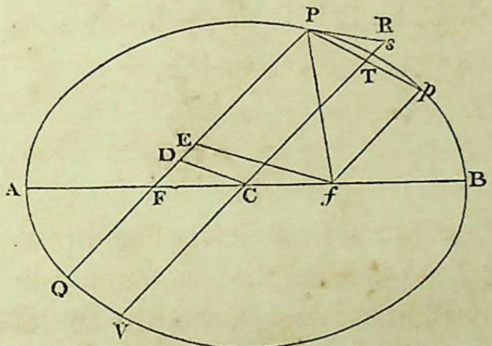
LEMMA 1.

"If a right line touch an ellipsis in any point thereof, and parallel to that tangent be drawn another right line from the centre of the ellipsis which shall intersect a third right line drawn from the touch point through either focus of the ellipsis; the segment of the last named right line, lying between the point of intersection, and the point of contact, shall be equal to half the long axis of the ellipsis.

"Let APBQ be the ellipsis, AB its long axis, C its centre, F*f* its foci, P the point of contact, PR the tangent, CD the line parallel to the tangent, and PD the segment of the line PF; I say, that this segment shall be equal to CB.

"For join PF, and draw *f*E parallel to CD; and because F*f* and FE are bisected in C and D, PD shall be equal (to half the sum of PF, and PE, that is, to half the sum of PF, and P*f*, that is to half AB, that is) to CB, W, *w*. to be demonstrated.

LEMMA 2.

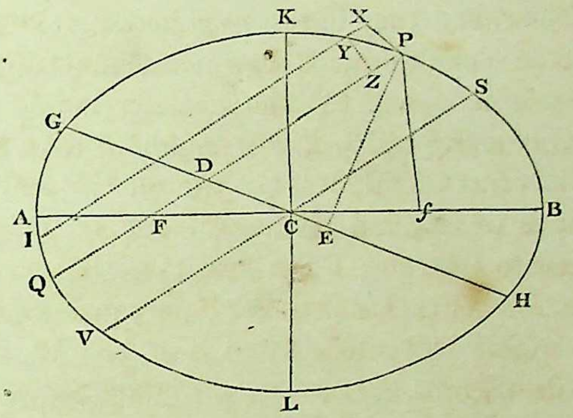


"Every line drawn through either focus of any ellipsis, and terminated at both ends by the ellipsis, is to that diameter of the ellipsis, which is parallel to this line, as the same diameter is to the long axis of the ellipsis.

"Let APBQ be the ellipsis, AB its longer axis, F*f* its foci, C its centre, PQ the line drawn through its focus F, and VCS its diameter parallel to PQ; and PQ shall be to VS as VS to AB; for draw *f p* parallel to QFP, and cutting the ellipsis in *p*, join P*p*, cutting VS in T, and draw PR, which shall touch the ellipsis in P, and cut the diameter in VS produced in R, and CT will be to CS as CS to CR. But CT is the semi sum of FP and *f p*, that is of FP and FQ, and therefore 2 CT is equal to PQ, also ^{2}CS is equal to VS, and (by the foregoing Lemma) ^{2}CR is equal to AB, wherefore PQ is to VS as VS to AB; W. *w.* to be dem. corol. $AB \times PQ = VS^{q} = {}^{4}CS^{q}$.

LEMMA 3.

"If from either focus of any ellipsis unto any point in the perimeter of the ellipsis be drawn a right line, and another right line do touch the ellipsis in that point, and the angle of contact be subtended by any third line drawn parallel to the first line, the rectangle which that subtense contains with the same subtense produced to the other side of the ellipsis, is to the rectangle which the long axis of the ellipsis contains with the first line produced to the other side of the ellipsis, as the square of the distance between the subtense and the first line is to the square of the short axis of the ellipsis.

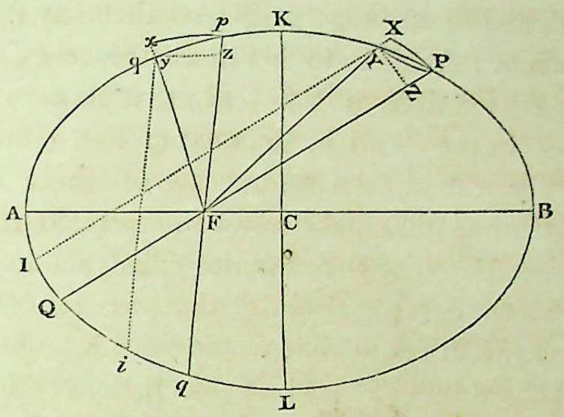


"Let **AKBL** be the ellipsis, **AB** its long axis, **KL** its short axis, **C** its centre, **F** *f* its foci, **P** the point in the perimeter, **FP** the first line, **PQ** that line produced to the other side of the ellipsis, **PX** the tangent, **XY** the subtense, **XI** the same subtense produced to the other side of the ellipsis, and **YZ** the distance between this subtense and the first line, I say, that the rectangle **YXI** is to the rectangle **AB** × **PQ**, as YZ^q to KL^q. For let **VS** be the diameter of the ellipsis parallel to the first line **FP**, and **GF** another diameter parallel to the tangent

PX, and the rectangle YXI, shall be to PX^q the square of the tangent, as the rectangle SCV to the rectangle GCH, that is as SV^q to GH^q. This is a property of the ellipsis demonstrated by all that write of the conic sections, and they have also demonstrated that all the parallelograms circumscribed about an ellipsis are equal. Whence the rectangle PE × GH is equal to the rectangle AB × KL, and consequently GH is to KL as AB, that is (by Lem. 1.) 2 PD, is to 2 PE, and by consequence as PX to YZ; and therefore PX is to GH as YZ to KL, and PX^q to GH^q as YZ^q to KL^q. But PX^q was to GH^q as YXI to SV^q, and SV^q (by Corol. Lem. 2.) is equal to AB × PQ, and therefore YXI is to AB × PQ as YZ^q to KL^q. W. *w.* to be Dem.

PROP. 2.

"If a body be attracted towards either focus of any ellipsis, and by that attraction be made to revolve in the perimeter of the ellipsis, the attraction shall be reciprocally as the square of the distance of the body from that focus of the ellipsis.



"Let P be the place of the body in the ellipsis at any moment of time, and P X the tangent, in which the body would move uniformly, were it not attracted, and X the place in that tangent at which it would arrive in any given part of time, and Y the place in the perimeter of the ellipsis at which the body doth arrive in the same time by means of the attraction. Let us now suppose the time to be divided into equal parts, and that those parts are very little ones, so that they may be considered as physical moments; and that the attraction acts not continually, but by intervals in the beginning of every physical moment, and let the first action be upon the body in P, the next upon it in Y, and so on perpetually; so that the body may move from P to Y, in the chord of the arch PY, and from Y to its next place in the ellipsis in the chord of the next arch, and so on for ever. And because the attraction in P is made towards F, and diverts the body from the tangent PX into the chord PY, so that in the end of the first physical moment it is not found in the place X, where it would have been without the attraction, but in Y, being by the force of the attraction in P translated from X to Y, the line XY, generated by the force of attraction in P, must be proportional to that force and parallel to its direction, that is, parallel to PF, as is manifest by the third hypothesis.

"Produce XY and PF till they cut the ellipsis in I and Q. Join FY, and upon FP let fall the perpendicular yz, and let AB be the long axis, and KL the short axis of the ellipsis, and by the third Lemma YXI will be to AB × PQ as $\mathrm{YZ}^{\mathrm{quad}}$ to $\mathrm{KL}^{\mathrm{quad}}$, and by consequence, YZ will be equal to $\dfrac{\mathrm{AB} \times \mathrm{PQ} \times \mathrm{YZ}^{\mathrm{quad}}}{xy \times \mathrm{KL}^{\mathrm{quad}}}$

"And in like manner, if py be the chord of another arch, py, which the revolving body describes in a physical moment of time, and px be the tangent of the ellipsis at p, and xy the subtense of the angle of contact drawn parallel to pF, and if pF and xy, produced, cut the ellipsis in q and i; and from y, upon pF be let fall the perpendicular yz, the subtense yx shall be equal to $\frac{\mathrm{AB}\times pq\times yz^{\mathrm{quad}}}{xi\times \mathrm{KL}^{\mathrm{quad}}}$.

"Now, because the lines PY py are, by the revolving body, described in equal times, the areas of the triangles PYF, pyF must be equal by the first proposition, and therefore the rectangles $\mathrm{PF}\times\mathrm{YZ}$ and $p\mathrm{F}\times yz$ are equal; and pF is to PF as YZ to yz, and $p\mathrm{F}^{\mathrm{quad}}$ to $\mathrm{PF}^{\mathrm{quad}}$ as $\mathrm{YZ}^{\mathrm{quad}}$ to yz^{quad} (and if you multiply the antecedents alike, and the consecuents alike,) $\frac{\mathrm{PQ}}{\mathrm{XI}}p\mathrm{F}^{\mathrm{quad}}$ to $\frac{pq}{xi}\mathrm{PF}^{\mathrm{quad}}$ as $\frac{\mathrm{PQ}}{\mathrm{XI}}\mathrm{YZ}^{\mathrm{quad}}$ to $\frac{pq}{xi}\,yz^{\mathrm{quad}}$ that is, as $\frac{\mathrm{AB}\times\mathrm{PQ}\times\mathrm{YZ}^{\mathrm{q}}}{\mathrm{XI}\times\mathrm{KL}^{\mathrm{q}}}$ to $\frac{\mathrm{AB}\times pq\times yz^{\mathrm{quad}}}{\mathrm{X}i\times\mathrm{KL}^{\mathrm{q}}}$ that is, as YZ to yx, and therefore as the attraction in P to the attraction in p by Hypoth. 2 and 3.'

"Suppose now, that the equal times in which the revolving body describes the lines PY, and py becomes infinitely little, so that the attraction may become continual, and the body, by this attraction, revolve in the perimeter of the ellipsis, and the line PQ, XI, as also pq, xi becoming coincident, and by consequence equal the quantities $\frac{\mathrm{PQ}}{\mathrm{XI}}p\mathrm{F}^{\mathrm{q}}$ and $\frac{pq}{xi}\mathrm{PF}^{\mathrm{q}}$ will become

pF^q and PF^q; and therefore the attraction in P will be to the attraction in p as pF^q to PF^q that is reciprocally as the squares of the distances of the revolving body from that focus of the ellipsis towards which the attraction is directed, which was to be demonstrated."

The first letter, dated November 14, 1690, and that dated February 16, 169½, relate to "an account of the corruptions of Scripture" written by Newton, and which he desired to have translated into French, and published abroad. He resolved afterwards, as it appears by his letter dated February 16, 169½, to suppress the translation and impression, and it is believed that Newton's letters upon the disputed verse in the Epistle of St. John, and the controverted passage in the first Epistles to Timothy, were not published before 1754. Mr. Porson, in his celebrated letter to Archdeacon Travis, states that Newton wrote his discourse between 1690 and 1700, but that it was not published before 1754, and then imperfectly. It was afterwards restored by Dr. Horsley, in his edition of Newton from the original manuscript, of which a more detailed account will be found at the end of these letters.

"SIR, Nov. 14, 1690.

"I SEND you now by the carrier, Martin, the papers I promised. I fear I have not only made you stay too long for them, but also made them too long by an addition. For upon the receipt of your letter reviewing what I had by me concerning the text of 1 John, v. 7, and examining authors a little farther about it, I met with something new concerning that other of 1st Tim. iii. 16, which I thought would be as acceptable to inquisitive men, and might be set down in a little room; but by searching farther into authors to find out the bottom of it, is swelled to the bigness you see. I fear the length of what I say on both texts may occasion you too much trouble, and therefore if at present you get only what concerns the first done into French, that of the other may stay till we see what success the first will have. I have no entire copy besides that I send you, and therefore would not have it lost, because I may, perhaps, after it has gone abroad long enough in French, put it forth in English. What charge you are at about it, (for I am sure it will put you to some,) you must let me know; for the trouble alone is enough for you. Pray present my most humble service and thanks to my Lord and Lady Monmouth, for their so kind remembrance of me; for their favour is such that I can never sufficiently acknowledge it. If your voyage hold, I wish you a prosperous one, and happy return. I should be glad of a line from you, to know that you have these papers, and how far you have recovered your health, for you told me nothing of that.

I am, Sir,
Your most faithful and most humble servant,
Is. Newton."

" SIR, Cambridge, Feb. 7, 1690-1.

" I am sorry your journey proved to so little purpose, though it delivered you from the trouble of the company the day after. You have obliged me by mentioning me to my friends at London, and I must thank both you and my Lady Masham for your civilities at Oates, and for not thinking that I made a long stay there. I hope we shall meet again in due time, and then I should be glad to have your judgment upon some of my mystical fancies. The Son of man, Dan. vii. I take to be the same with the Word of God upon the White Horse in Heaven, Apoc. xix. and him to be the same with the Man Child, Apoc. xii. for both are to rule the nations with a rod of iron; but whence are you certain that the Ancient of Days is Christ? Does Christ any where sit upon the throne? If Sir Francis Masham be at Oates, present, I pray, my service to him with his lady, Mrs. Cudworth, and Mrs. Masham. Dr. Covel is not in Cambridge.

"I am
Your affectionate and humble servant,
Is. Newton.

"Know you the meaning of Dan. x. 21: *There is none that holdeth with me in these things but Mich. your Prince?*"

"SIR,

"I HAD answered your letter sooner, but that I stayed to revise and send you the papers which you desire. But the consulting of authors proving more tedious than I expected, so as to make me defer sending them till the next week, I could not forbear sending this letter alone, to let you know how extremely glad I was to hear from you; for though your letter brought me the first news of your having been so dangerously ill, yet by your undertaking a journey into Holland, I hope you are well recovered. I am extremely much obliged to my Lord and Lady Monmouth for their kind remembrance of me, and whether their design

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succeeded or not, must ever think myself obliged to be their humble servant. I suppose Mr. Falio is in Holland, for I have heard nothing from him the half year.

"Sir, I am,
Your most humble servant,
Is. Newton.

"Cambridge, Sept. 28, 1690."

"Sir, Cambridge, June 30th, 1691.

"Your deferring to answer my letter is what you needed not make an apology for, because I use to be guilty of the same fault as often as I have nothing of moment to write, and therefore cannot in justice complain. If the scheme you have laid of managing the controller's place of the M., will not give you the trouble of too large a letter, you will oblige me by it. I thank you heartily for your being so mindful of me, and ready to assist me with your interest. Concerning the *Ancient of Days*, Dan. vii. there seems to be a mistake either in my last letter, or in yours, because you wrote in your former letter, that the Ancient of Days is Christ; and in my last, I either did, or should have asked, how you knew that. But these discourses may be done with more freedom at our next meeting. I am indebted to my solicitor, Mr. Starkey. If you please to let me have your opinion what I should send him, I will send it with a letter by the carrier. My Lady Masham and you have done me much honour in looking into my book, and I am very glad to have the approbation of such judicious persons. The observation you mention in Mr. Boyle's book of Colours, I once made upon myself with the hazard of my eyes. The manner was this: I looked a very little while upon the sun in the looking-glass with my right eye, and then turned my eyes into a dark corner of my chamber, and winked, to observe the impression made, and the circles of colours which encompassed it, and how they decayed by degrees, and at last vanished. This I repeated a second and a third time. At the third time, when the phantasm of light and colours about it were almost vanished, intending my fancy upon them to see their last appearance, I found to my amazement, that they began to return, and by little and little to become as lively and vivid as when I had newly looked upon the sun. But when I ceased to intende my fancy upon them, they vanished again. After this, I found that as often as I went into the dark, and intended my mind upon them, as when a man looks earnestly to see any thing which is difficult to be seen, I could make the phantasm return without looking any more upon the sun; and the oftener I made it return, the more easily I could make it return again. And at length, by repeating this without looking any more upon the sun, I made such an impression on my eye, that if I looked upon the clouds, or a book, or any bright object, I saw upon it a round bright spot of light like the sun; and, which is still stranger, though I looked upon the sun with my right eye only, and not with my left, yet my fancy began to make the impression upon my left eye, as well as upon my right. For if I shut my right eye, and looked upon a book or the clouds with my left eye, I could see the spectrum of the sun almost as plain as with my right eye, if I did but intende my fancy a little while upon it; for at first, if I shut my right eye, and looked with my left, the spectrum of the sun did not appear till I intended my fancy upon it; but by repeating, this appeared every time more easily. And now, in a few hours' time, I had brought my eyes to such a pass, that I could look upon no bright object with either eye, but I saw the sun before me, so that I durst neither write nor read: but to recover the use of my eyes, shut myself up in my chamber made dark, for three days together, and used all means to divert my imagination from the sun. For if I thought upon him, I presently saw his picture, though I was in the dark. But by keeping in the dark, and employing my mind about other things, I began in three or four days to have some use of my eyes again; and by forbearing a few days longer to look upon bright objects, recovered them pretty well, though not so well, but that for some months after the spectrum of the sun began to return as often as I began to meditate upon the phenomenon, even though I lay in bed at midnight with my curtains drawn; but now I have been very well for many years, though I am apt to think, that if I durst venture my eyes, I could still make the phantasm return by the power of my fancy. This story I tell you, to let you understand, that in the observation related by Mr. Boyle, the man's fancy probably concurred with the impression made by the sun's light, to produce that phantasm of the sun which he constantly saw in bright objects: and so your question about the cause of this phantasm, involves another about the power of fancy, which I must confess is too hard a knot for me to untie. To place this effect in a constant motion is hard, because the sun ought then to appear perpetually. It seems rather to consist in a disposition of the sensorium to move the imagination strongly, and to be easily moved both by the imagination and by the light, as often as bright objects are looked upon.

"If the papers you mention come not out, I will tell you at our next meeting what shall be done with them.

"My humble service to Sir Francis, my lady, and Mrs. Cudworth.

"I am
Your most humble servant,
Is. Newton."

"SIR, Cambridge, Jan. 26th, 169½.

"Being fully convinced that Mr. Mountague, upon an old grudge which I thought had been worn out, is false to me, I have done with him, and intend to sit still, unless my Lord Monmouth be still my friend. I have now no prospect of seeing you any more, unless you will be so kind as to repay that visit I made you the last year. If I may hope for this favour, I pray bring my papers with you. Otherwise I desire you would send them by some convenient messenger, when opportunity shall serve. My humble service to my Lady Masham, and to Sir Francis if at Oates.

"I am
Your most humble servant,
Is. Newton."

"I understand Mr. Boyle communicated his process about the red earth and Mercury to you as well as to me, and before his death, procured some of that earth for his friends."

"SIR, Cambridge, Feb. 16th, 169½.

"YOUR former letters came not to my hand, but this I have. I was of opinion my papers had lain still, and am sorry to hear there is news about them. Let me entreat you to stop their translation and impression so soon as you can, for I design to suppress them. If your friend hath been at any pains and charge, I will repay it, and gratify him. I am very glad my Lord Monmouth is still my friend, but intend not to give his Lordship and you any farther trouble. My inclinations are to sit still. I am to beg his Lordship's pardon, for pressing into his company the last time I saw him. I had not done it, but that Mr. Pawling pressed me into the room. Miracles of good credit continued in the Church for about two or three hundred years. Gregorius Thaumaturgus had his name from thence, and was one of the latest who was eminent for that gift; but of their number and frequency, I am not able to give you a just account. The history of those ages is very imperfect. Mr. Pawling told me, you had writ for some of Mr.

Boyle's red earth, and by that I knew you had the receipt.

"Your most affectionate and humble servant,
Is. Newton."

"Sir, August 2d, 1692.

"I beg your pardon that I sent not your papers last week; the carrier went out a quarter of an hour sooner than I was aware of. I am glad you have all the three parts of the recipe entire; but before you go to work about it, I desire you would consider these things, for it may perhaps save you time and expense. This recipe I take to be the thing for the sake of which Mr. Boyle procured the repeal of the Act of Parliament against Multipliers, and therefore he had it then in his hands. In the margin of the recipe was noted, that the mercury of the first work would grow hot with gold, and thence I gather that this recipe was the foundation of what he published many years ago, about such mercuries as would grow hot with gold, and therefore was then known to him, that is, sixteen or twenty years ago, at least; and yet, in all this time, I cannot find that he has either tried it himself, or got it tried with success by any body else: for, when I spoke doubtingly about it, he confessed that he had not seen it tried; but added, that a certain gentleman was now about it, and it succeeded very well so far as he had gone, and that all the signs appeared, so that I needed not doubt of it. This satisfied me that mercury, by this recipe, may be brought to change its colours and properties, but not that gold may be multiplied thereby; and I doubt it the more, because I heard some years ago of a company, who were upon this work in London, and after Mr. Boyle had communicated his recipe to me, so that I knew it was the same with theirs. I inquired after them, and learnt that two of them were since forced to other means of living; and a third, who was the chief artist, was still at work, but was run so far into debt that he had much ado to live; and by these circumstances, I understood that these gentlemen could not make the thing succeed. When I told Mr. Boyle of these gentlemen, he acknowledged that the recipe was gone about among several chymists, and therefore I intend to stay till I hear that it succeeds with some of them.

"But, besides, if I would try this recipe, I am satisfied that I could not, for Mr. Boyle has reserved a part of it from my knowledge. I know more of it than he has told me; and by that, and an expression or two which dropped from him, I know that what he has told me is imperfect and useless without knowing more than I do: and, therefore, I intend only to try whether I know enough to make a mercury which will grow hot with gold, if perhaps I shall try that. For Mr. Boyle to offer his secret upon conditions, and after I had consented, not to perform his part, looks oddly; and that the rather because I was averse from meddling with his recipe, till he persuaded me to it; and by not performing his part, he has voided the obligation to the conditions on mine, so that I may reckon myself at my own discretion to say or do what I will about this matter, though perhaps I shall be tender of using my liberty. But that I may understand the reason of his reservedness, pray will you be so free as to let me know the conditions which he obliged you to, in communicating this recipe; and whether he communicated to you any thing more than is written down in the three parts of the recipe. I do not desire to know what he has communicated, but rather that you would keep the particulars from me, (at least in the second and third part of the recipe,) because I have no mind to be concerned with this recipe any farther than just to know the entrance. I suspect his reservedness might proceed from mine; for when I communicated a certain experiment to him, he presently, by way of requital, subjoined two others, but cumbered them with such circumstances as startled me, and made me afraid of any more: for he expressed that I should presently go to work upon them, and desired I would publish them after his death. I have not yet tried either of them, nor intend to try them; but since you have the inspection of his papers, if you design to publish any of his remains, you will do me a great favour to let these two be published among the rest. But then I desire that it may not be known that they come through my hands. One of them seems to be a considerable experiment, and may prove of good use in medicine for analysing bodies; the other is only a knack. In dissuading you from too hasty a trial of this recipe, I have forborne to say any thing against multiplication in general, because you seem persuaded of it; though there is one argument against it, which I could never find an answer to, and which, if you will let me have your opinion about it, I will send you in my next."*

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* Multiplication of metals was the term used by the chymists of that time to express a process, by which they supposed that a certain quantity of a metal would be increased by their operations. Locke was, at this time, editing a General History of the Air, by the Right Hon. Robert Boyle.

"Cambridge, Dec. 13, 1691.

"SIR,

"WHEN I received your former letter, I was engaged here by the term, and could not stir. I thank you for putting me in mind of Charterhouse, but I see nothing in it worth making a bustle for: besides a coach, which I consider not, it is but 200*l.* per annum, with a confinement to the London air, and to such a way of living as I am not in love with; neither do I think it advisable to enter into such a competition as that would be for a better place. Dr. Spencer, the Dean of Ely, has perused the specimen of Le Clerc's Latin Version of the Old Testament, and likes the design very well, but gives me no remarks upon it. Pray return my most humble service and hearty thanks to my Lady Masham, for her ladyship's kind invitation; and accept of mine to yourself for so frankly offering the assistance of your friends, if there should be occasion. Mr. Green called on me last Tuesday, and I designed to have answered your letter sooner, but beg your pardon that I did not.

"I am
Your most humble servant,
IS. NEWTON."

"Cambridge, May 3rd 1692.

"SIR,

"Now the churlish weather is almost over, I was thinking, within a post or two, to put you in mind of my desire to see you here, where you shall be as welcome as I can make you. I am glad you have prevented me, because I hope now to see you the sooner. You may lodge conveniently either at the Rose tavern, or Queen's Arms inn. I am glad the edition is stopped, but do not perceive that you had mine, and therefore have sent you a transcript of what concerned miracles, if it come not now too late. For it happens that I have a copy of it by me. 'Concerning miracles, there is a notable passage or two in Ireneus l. 22, c. 56, recited by Eusebius, l. 5. c. 17. The miraculous refection of the Roman army by rain, at the prayers of a Christian legion, (thence called fulminatrix) is mentioned by Ziphilina apud Dionam. in Marco Imp. and by Tertullian Apolog. c. 5, and ad Scap. c. 4, and by Eusebius l. 5, c. 5. Hist. Eccl., and in Chronico, and acknowledged by the Emperor Marcus in a letter, as Tertullian mentions. The same Tertullian somewhere challenges the heathens to produce a Demoniac, and he will produce a man who shall cast out the demon.' For this was the language of the ancients for curing lunatics. I am told that Sir Henry Yelverton, in a book about the truth of Christianity, has writ well of the ancient miracles, but the book I never saw. Concerning Gregory Thaumaturgus, see Gregory Nystra in ejus vita, and Basil de Spiritu Sancto, c. 29.

"My humble service to Sir Francis and his lady. I am

Your most humble servant,

Is. Newton."

"I know of nothing that will call me from home this month."

I must be allowed to call the reader's attention to the two following letters, by prefixing the note of Mr. Dugald Stewart.

"For the preservation of this precious memorial of Mr. Locke," he is pleased to say, "the public is indebted to the descendants of his friend and relation, the Lord Chancellor King;" and after noticing the ingenuous and almost infantine simplicity of Newton's letters, he adds, speaking of Locke's reply, "it is written with the magnanimity of a philosopher, and with the good-humoured forbearance of a man of the world; and it breathes throughout, so tender and so unaffected a veneration for the good as well as great qualities of the excellent person to whom it is addressed, as demonstrates at once the conscious integrity of the writer, and the superiority of his mind to the irritation of little passions:" he adds, "I know nothing from Locke's pen which does more honour to his temper and character."

"SIR,

"BEING of opinion that you endeavoured to embroil me with women and by other means, I was so much affected with it, as that when one told me you were sickly and would not live, I answered, 'twere better if you were dead. I desire you to forgive me this uncharitableness. For I am now satisfied that what you have done is just, and I beg your pardon for my having hard thoughts of you for it, and for representing that you struck at the root of morality, in a principle you laid down in your book of ideas, and designed to pursue in another book, and that I took you for a Hobbist. I beg your pardon also for saying or thinking that there was a design to sell me an office, or to embroil me. I am your most humble

And unfortunate servant,

IS. NEWTON."

"At the Bull, in Shoreditch,
London, Sept. 16th, 1693."

LOCKE TO NEWTON.

" SIR, " Oates, Oct. 5th, 93.

" I HAVE been ever since I first knew you, so entirely and sincerely your friend, and thought you so much mine, that I could not have believed what you tell me of yourself, had I had it from any body else. And though I cannot but be mightily troubled that you should have had so many wrong and unjust thoughts of me, yet next to the return of good offices, such as from a sincere good will I have ever done you, I receive your acknowledgment of the contrary as the kindest thing you could have done me, since it gives me hopes that I have not lost a friend I so much valued. After what your letter expresses, I shall not need to say any thing to justify myself to you. I shall always think your own reflection on my carriage both to you and all mankind, will sufficiently do that. Instead of that, give me leave to assure you, that I am more ready to forgive you than you can be to desire it; and I do it so freely and fully, that I wish for nothing more than the opportunity to convince you that I truly love and esteem you; and that I have still the same good will for you as if nothing of this had happened. To confirm this to you more fully, I should be glad to meet you any where, and the rather, because the conclusion of your letter makes me apprehend it would not be wholly useless to you. But whether you think it fit or not, I leave wholly to you. I shall always be ready to serve you to my utmost, in any way you shall like, and shall only need your commands or permission to do it.

"My book is going to the press for a second edition; and though I can answer for the design with which I writ it, yet since you have so opportunely given me notice of what you have said of it, I should take it as a favour, if you would point out to me the places that gave occasion to that censure, that by explaining myself better, I may avoid being mistaken by others, or unawares doing the least prejudice to truth or virtue. I am sure you are so much a friend to them both, that were you none to me, I could expect this from you. But I cannot doubt but you would do a great deal more than this for my sake, who after all have all the concern of a friend for you, wish you extremely well, and am without compliment."

The draft of the letter is indorsed "J. L. to I. Newton."

"SIR,

"THE last winter, by sleeping too often by my fire, I got an ill habit of sleeping; and a distemper, which this summer has been epidemical, put me farther out of order, so that when I wrote to you, I had not slept an hour a night for a fortnight together, and for five nights together not a wink. I remember I wrote to you, but what I said of your book I remember not. If you please to send me a transcript of that passage, I will give you an account of it if I can.

"I am your most humble servant,

IS. NEWTON.

"Cambridge, Oct. 5th, 1693."

Newton, in the following letter, criticises Locke's paraphrase of 1 Corinthians, vii. 14, the unbelieving husband is sanctified or made a Christian by his wife; the words, however, stand unaltered in the printed copy.

"SIR, "London, May 15, 1703.

"UPON my first receiving your papers, I read over those concerning the first Epistle of the Corinthians, but by so many intermissions, that I resolved to go over them again, so soon as I could get leisure to do it with more attention. I have now read it over a second time, and gone over also your papers on the second Epistle. Some faults, which seemed to be faults of the scribe, I mended with my pen, as I read the papers; some others, I have noted in the inclosed papers. In your paraphrase on 1 Cor. vii. 14, you say, 'the unbelieving husband is sanctified or made a Christian in his wife.' I doubt this interpretation, because, the unbelieving husband is not capable of baptism, as all Christians are. The Jews looked upon themselves as clean, holy, or separate to God, and other nations as unclean, unholy, or common, and accordingly, it was unlawful for a man that was a Jew, to keep company with, or come unto one of another nation. Acts x. 28. But when the propagation of the Gospel made it necessary for the Jews who preached the Gospel to go unto and keep company with the Gentiles, God showed Peter by a vision, in the case of Cornelius, that he had cleansed those of other nations, so that Peter should not any longer call any man common or unclean, and on that account forbear their company; and thereupon Peter went in unto Cornelius and his companions, who were uncircumcised, and did eat with them. Acts x. 27, 28. and xi. 3. Sanctifying therefore, and cleansing, signify here, not the making a man a Jew or Christian, but the dispensing with the law, whereby the people of God were to avoid the company of the rest of the world as unholy or unclean. And if this sense be applied to St. Paul's words, they will signify, that although believers are a people holy to God, and ought to avoid the company of unbelievers as unholy or unclean, yet this law is dispensed with in some cases, and particularly in the case of marriage. The believing wife must not separate from the unbelieving husband as unholy or unclean, nor the believing husband from the unbelieving wife: for the unbeliever is sanctified or cleansed by marriage with the believer, the law of avoiding the company of unbelievers being, in this case, dispensed with. I should therefore interpret St. Paul's words, after the following manner:

"'For the unbelieving husband is sanctified or cleansed by the believing wife, so that it is lawful to keep him company, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were the children of such parents to be separated from you, and avoided as unclean, but now by nursing and educating them in your families, you allow that they are holy.'

"This interpretation I propose as easy and suiting well to the words and design of St. Paul, but submit it wholly to your judgment.

"I had thoughts of going to Cambridge this summer, and calling at Oates in my way, but am now uncertain of this journey. Present, I pray, my humble service to Sir Francis Masham and his Lady. I think your paraphrase and commentary on these two Epistles, is done with very great care and judgment.

"I am
Your most humble, and obedient servant,
Is. NEWTON."

REMARKS ON SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S THREE LETTERS.*

THE principal subject to which the first letter of 14th of November 1690 relates, and which is referred to in the others, of 16th February 1692, and 3d May 1692, will cause them to be read with interest by the Biblical scholar. Sir Isaac Newton's dissertations on the controverted texts of 1 John, c. v. v. 7, and 1 Timothy

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* I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Rees, to whom I had submitted the letters of Sir Isaac Newton and of M. Le Clerc with Mr. Locke, for these learned and critical remarks.

iii. 16, have long been before the public, and now hold their proper rank amongst the ablest treatises of this class. The history of these valuable tracts is, however, but imperfectly known; it may, therefore, not be unacceptable to state here a few facts, collected chiefly from Mr. Locke's papers, which may conduce to its elucidation. Mr. Porson, who must be believed to have been extensively acquainted with whatever related to the controversy, evidently knew little as to the origin of the first of these works, and of its progress towards publication. In the Preface to his masterly Letters to Travis, (pp. ii, iii,) he thus expresses himself:—"Between the years 1690 and 1700, Sir Isaac Newton wrote a Dissertation upon 1 John, v. 7, in which he collected, arranged, and strengthened Simon's arguments, and gave a clear, exact, and comprehensive view of the whole question. This Dissertation, which was not published till 1754, and then imperfectly, has been lately restored by Dr. Horsley, in the last edition of Newton's Works, from an original manuscript." Bishop Horsley, who regarded the two Dissertations with no favourable eye, satisfies himself with the following account of their publication:—"A very imperfect copy of this Tract, wanting both the beginning and the end, and erroneous in many places, was published in London, in the year 1754, under the title of 'Two Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Mr. Le Clerc:' but, in the author's manuscript, the whole is one continued discourse, which, although it is conceived in the epistolary form, is not addressed to any particular person."—Preface to the Tract, Newton's Works, vol. v. p. 494.

The edition of 1754, although it conveys some additional information, leaves some things still to be explained. The editor thus accounts (pp. 122, 123,) for his possession of the papers:—"The reader is to be informed that the manuscript of these two Letters is still preserved in the library of the Remonstrants in Holland. It was lodged there by Mr. Le Clerc, and it was sent to him by the famous Mr. Locke, and is actually in the handwriting of this gentleman. And notwithstanding the Letters have the acknowledged defects, the editor thought it a pity that the world should be longer deprived of these two pieces, as they now are, since they cannot be obtained more perfect, all other copies of them being either lost or destroyed."

The "acknowledged defects," to which the editor alludes, are the loss of the beginning of the first letter, and of the end of the second. The second letter is printed after the imperfect manuscript, and concludes in the middle of a sentence. A different fate befell its companion. Another writer, conjecturing from the course of argument pursued in the existing portion of the first dissertation, what must have been comprised in that which was lost, drew up a new introduction to supply its place. The reader is not apprised of this fact till he arrives at the end of the thirteenth page, when his attention is arrested by the following note. "The editor must inform the reader, that *thus far is not Sir Isaac's:* the copy transmitted to him fairly acknowledges it, and adds, that the first four paragraphs of the manuscript are lost; and that as there were no hopes of recovering them, they were supplied, not out of vanity, but merely to lay before the reader those passages which the letter itself plainly shows had been made use of by the author himself, and to the purposes, as is apprehended, they are here subservient to; and an assurance is also given that all which follows the words 'he makes use of,' are Sir Isaac's own, without alteration."

The author of the new introduction has shewn himself to be a man of learning, well acquainted with the subject. There is, however, a considerable difference, as may well be imagined, between what he has written and Sir

Isaac Newton's original, which is now happily recovered.

These are the chief particulars of information to be obtained from books as to the early history of the two tracts. It may be proper to add, that in some catalogues of Sir Isaac Newton's works, another edition is mentioned of the date of 1734, under the title of "Two Letters to Mr. Clarke, late Divinity Professor of the Remonstrants in Holland." But no opportunity has occurred of consulting this edition, which is stated to be a duodecimo pamphlet.

Mr. Locke's papers have thrown some new light upon this subject. From Sir Isaac Newton's letters, inserted above, we now learn that these valuable papers were first communicated to Mr. Locke in the strictest confidence. The author, with his characteristic timidity, shrank from the responsibility of sending them forth to the public with the sanction of his name, and thus expose himself to the scoffs or the censures of the theological bigots of the age, who were either incompetent or indisposed to appreciate the value of his labours. Mr. Locke was at this time meditating a voyage to Holland; and Sir Isaac Newton's first purpose was, that he should take these papers with him, and, through the medium of some literary acquaintance, procure the translation and publication of them there in the French language. He wished in this manner, without bringing himself personally before the public, to ascertain the feeling and judgment of Biblical critics, as to the subjects of his work. Then, "after it had gone abroad long enough in French," he "might," he states, "perhaps put it forth in English."

Mr. Locke having postponed or abandoned his design of revisiting Holland, forwarded the papers to his friend M. Le Clerc, with instructions to have them translated and published. Sir Isaac Newton was not apprised of this circumstance, but, knowing that Mr. Locke had not quitted England, concluded that they were still in his possession. In the second letter, written fifteen months after the first, he expresses his regret at learning that this was not the case, and entreats Mr. Locke to countermand the translation, it being his design to suppress the work. In the third letter, written three months later, he merely says, he was "glad the edition was stopped."

There exist no letters of Mr. Locke's to indicate what steps he took towards the execution of Sir Isaac Newton's commission. This deficiency is, however, partially supplied by the letters, still among his papers, addressed to him by M. Le Clerc. The subject is first mentioned in a letter dated April 11th, 1691, in which M. Le Clerc thus writes:—

"Dès que j'aurai quelque loisir, je traduirai, ou en Latin ou en François, le petit *Historical Account*, &c. qui mérite de voir le jour. Je crois pourtant qu'il pourroit être meilleur si l'Auteur avoit lu avec soin ce que M. Simon a dit du sujet, dont il parle dans la Critique du N. T. p. 1."

In a letter dated July the 31st, in the same year, referring to a preceding communication, probably the letter already quoted, M. Le Clerc writes:—

"Je vous y disois quelque chose du MS. sur le passage corrompu. Je n'en ai encore rien fait, à cause de diverses occupations que j'ai eues, mais j'espère d'avoir occasion de le publier avec quelques autres dissertations, étant trop petit pour paroître tout seul. Un trop petit livre se perd; il faut tâcher de le grossir un peu si on veut qu'il subsiste."

The next letter in which the tract is mentioned, is dated Jan. 20th, 1692, and was written after a farther communication had been received from Mr. Locke. "J'aurois soin," says M. Le Clerc, "d'inserer dans la dissertation sur le passage de S. J. l'addition que vous m'avez envoiée, et de traduire l'autre, pour les publier toutes deux ensemble en Latin. Si je n'étois pas engagé dans un autre travail qui demande tout mon temps, j'entreprendrois de composer, ou de traduire en Latin, quantité de dissertations Anglois, ou François, ou Italiennes, sur des sujets de littérature, qui sont peu connues, et que leur petitesse fait perdre. Je les donnerois de temps en temps au public, comme *la Bibliothèque;* ou *les Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres;* et je le ferois à mes dépenses, parce que les libraires sont ici si avares, et de si mauvais goût, qu'ils veulent tout avoir pour rien, et méprisent les meilleures choses lorsqu'on les leur offre. Mais je suis à present trop occupé pour cela."

M. Le Clerc's next letter is dated the 11th of April, 1692. He had by this time received Mr. Locke's instructions to stop the publication. From the terms of M. Le Clerc's answer, it may be conjectured, that the fears of the author of the tract that he might be recognized, even through the disguise of a translation, had been alleged as the cause of its suppression; and this conjecture is strengthened by the language of the subsequent letter.

"C'est dommage," writes M. Le Clerc, "que ces deux dissertations MSS. que j'ai, demeurent supprimés. Je ne crois pas que l'on put reconnoître qu'elles sont traduites, à moins qu'on ne le dit. Dans une matière de cette nature, où je ne saurois manquer de prendre le sens de l'auteur, j'y donne un tour d'original qui ne sent point du tout la traduction. Je n'avois pas encore conclu pour cela avec l'imprimeur, qui faisoit difficulté à cause de la petitesse de l'ouvrage; et depuis votre lettre, je ne lui en ai plus parlé."

In the next letter, July 15, 1692, M. Le Clerc thus expresses himself:

"Je garderai fidèlement les deux dissertations que j'ai, jusqu'à ce que vous me marquerez ce que l'Auteur veut que j'en fasse. Je puis bien dire, que ni cela, ni autre chose qui seroit publié ici, ne feroit aucune affaire à personne, pourvu qu'on n'en sût rien d'ailleurs de-là la mer. Il faut hazarder quelque chose pour decrasser beaucoup d'honnêtes gens, qui ne péchent que par ignorance, et qui désabuseroient les autres s'ils étoient désabusés."

On the 5th of December, in the same year, M. Le Clerc observes:—"Vous aurez oui parler du dernier Tome de la Critique du P. Simon sur le N. Testament. Il y a encore quelques éclaircissemens sur le passage de S. Jean, sur lequel M. Arnaud avoit fait diverses remarques dans ses *Objections à M. Steyaert.* Cela meriteroit d'être examiné par l'Auteur de la dissertation."

No farther notice of these papers occurs in this correspondence, which continued to the year 1704, when Mr. Locke died. There can be no doubt that the manuscript remained in M. Le Clerc's hands up to this period. He had been enjoined not to publish the dissertations, and he appears to have faithfully acted up to his instructions. He was fully competent to appreciate their value: the most favourable and inviting opportunities offered of making them more extensively known through the press. His *Bibliothèque,* which had been discontinued about 1693, to afford him leisure to prosecute works of more research and greater importance, was resumed in December 1703, and continued till about 1730; and yet, in none of the volumes, although presenting so convenient a channel for their publication, are they introduced or named. In the absence of more decisive information, we may receive, as probable at least, the statement of the anonymous editor of the edition of 1754, that M. Le Clerc deposited the manuscript in the library of the Remonstrants, from which, through the medium of a friend, he alleges that he received his copy.

The title of the edition of 1754, "Two Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to M. Le Clerc," is conjectural and inaccurate. The tract having been in M. Le Clerc's possession, being written too in the epistolary form, and the first leaves with the title-page having been lost, the editor concluded that the author had actually addressed them to the Remonstrant professor. It is now clear that Sir Isaac Newton had no direct correspondence with this gentleman on the subject, all the communications having been made through Mr. Locke. There is also good reason to believe that Mr. Locke had on no occasion divulged to his correspondent the name of the writer, who was anxious to remain unknown. If the letters were really addressed to any one, it must have been to Mr. Locke, to whom the papers were transmitted as they were composed. The probability however is, that the epistolary form was adopted by the author merely as a matter of taste or convenience. The title given to the tract by M. Le Clerc himself, in acknowledging the receipt of the manuscript in the first extract inserted above, is not that of "Two Letters," but "*Historical Account*," &c. which corresponds with the beginning of the title of the copy inserted in Bishop Horsley's edition of Newton's Works, viz :—"An Historical Account of two Notable Corruptions of Scripture, in a Letter to a Friend."

Sir Isaac Newton tells Mr. Locke, "I have no entire copy besides that I send you." At a later period, he must have written many other copies, without introducing any very material alterations. Bishop Horsley performed a valuable service to biblical literature, by the publication of one in the author's own hand, in the possession of Dr. Ekins, Dean of Carlisle. From the catalogue of the Newton Manuscripts at Lord Portsmouth's, at Hurstborne, it would appear that there are some copies there; but whether in a perfect state, or not, cannot be ascertained until that collection shall have been examined by some competent person, less influenced by theological and ecclesiastical biases, than the learned and Right Reverend editor of Sir Isaac Newton's Works.

MR. SOMERS TO MR. LOCKE.

"Oxon, Wednesday, 5th March, 1689.

"DEAR SIR,

"SINCE you have wished so kindly to my election, I cannot but think it my duty to give you an account that yesterday morning my old partner, Mr. Bromley, and myself were chosen at Worcester without any opposition. I know you will be pleased to hear that my Lord Bellamont has all the reason in the world to be assured of being elected at Droitwich, and I hope the next post will bring you a certain account that it is so, to-morrow being his day. This day was the election for the county of Worcester, and I doubt not but Mr. Foley and Sir Fr. Winnington were chosen, which may be looked upon as good fortune, for there would have been danger from any pretenders, as far as I can find, by the sense of the county. I was very willing to get out of the town as soon as my election was over, and so got into the circuit at this place, from whence I shall go back to Worcester, where I hope you will make me so happy as to let me receive another letter from you, in which I will beg your advice, (for by this time you have an account of the bulk of the elections,) whether you think I may go on in the circuit or not; what you write shall be my rule in this point. If I could hope to be useful, I would not fail to be at the opening of the Session; but if there be no hopes of it, (and that the Gazette inclines me to believe,) I would take the advantage of the whole circuit, since I am now engaged in it. This letter I beg from you by Saturday's post; and when I have the satisfaction of seeing you, I will beg your pardon for this freedom, which nothing but your kindness to me upon all occasions, as well as my dependence upon your judgment, could have drawn me to. I am earnest in expectation of your thoughts in this and greater matters, and shall be often wishing for the coming of the post to Worcester on Monday next. I am, Sir,

Your most faithful, humble servant,
J. SOMERS.

"I am so unfortunate as to have forgot the name of the gentleman at whose house you lodge, and therefore direct this to the Earl of M.(onmouth)."

MR. SOMERS TO MR. LOCKE.

"SIR, Worcester, Sept. 25, 1698.

"I OUGHT to be out of countenance for being so long in making my acknowledgments for your two favours, which I really value so much; but as I had nothing to write from this place which was fit for you to read, so I wanted a proper address to you, till I learnt it from my friend Mr. Freke, in his last letter. The country, generally speaking, is extremely well disposed in relation to the Government; but some few clergymen who have not taken the oaths, and some that have, and a very little party of such as pay them a blind obedience, use incredible diligence, by misconstructions of every thing, false stories, and spreading of libels, to infect the people. I wish heartily the friends of the Government were encouraged to use the same diligence in suppressing such doings; for though they behave themselves with much malice, yet it is so very foolishly, that they lie as open as one could wish. I am making all possible haste to town, and hope to learn from you all that I want from my long absence. Your former favours make me bold to presume upon you, and your judgment is such that I can depend upon your instructions as the rules for my behaviour. I am,

Your most obliged, humble servant,

J. Somers."

The next eight letters are selected from the correspondence between the Earl of Peterborough and Mr. Locke; the intervals are wide, the date of the first being 1689, and that of the last 1703, the year before Locke's death. Lord Monmouth had been in Holland before the Revolution, and there, probably, their intimacy commenced.

"MR. LOCKE, Newcastle, Jan. 9, 1689.

"I MUST begin with a description of my Lord Delamere's army: it wanted nothing to be a complete regiment but clothes, boots, arms, horses, men, and officers: there never was any thing so scandalous as that the King should have paid near nine thousand pounds already to that rout of fellows, that have been more disorderly than any, never having all the while but one captain with them. He hath still those same champions with him that saved the nation, in the same or worse equipages than they were in the west, mounted upon just such horses attended the Protestant peer out of town. Good God! what is the love of money! O Roma venalis esses, &c. and so is every thing else. Who has got ten thousand pounds by the late made peer? we take it for granted he gave no more; he offered but fifteen for fifteen years together. Some of our Lords take their rest, others their pleasure; my Lords Devonshire and Lumley stay here; Mr. Wharton * goes for Scotland. I go to-morrow for Berwick, to examine some regiments, and come back the next day to Newcastle, a pleasant journey; at least no re-

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* Mr. Wharton, the same whose song of Lillibulero had produced such an effect on King James's army.

proach shall lie at my door; for I can brag that pleasure, when I am engaged in business, never made me go an hour out of my way. Direct your letters to Carlisle.

"Yours,
MONMOUTH."

EARL OF MONMOUTH TO MR. LOCKE.

"19th Nov. 1692.

"I AM told, that so many of your friends have sent you word how desirous they are you should come to town, that I am resolved I will not be of the number, concluding that your health obliges you to stay in the country. I am afraid of mentioning Parson's-green to you, for I find you would be importuned, if so near, to come to town, and our innocent air would be accused of the ill effects of London smoke. If your acquaintances would make you visits, and expect no returns, I would do all in my power to tempt you to a lady, who would take all possible care of you: she has prepared you a very warm room, and if you take the resolution, which she thinks you are obliged to by your promise, you must send me word of it; for as your physician, you must refuse none of her prescriptions; and she will not allow you to come up but in a glass coach. This is no compliment; and you can gain no admittance except my coach brings you, which I can send without the least inconvenience; but after all, I desire you not to venture coming towards us if it may be prejudicial to your health. If you stay in the country, I will send you now and then a news-letter: our revolving Government always affords us something new every three or four months; but what would be most new and strange, would be to see it do any thing that were really for its interest: there seems a propensity towards something like it; I fear their sullen and duller heads will not allow it. Mons. Blanquet tells us the King is grown in love with Englishmen and Whigs; it is true, he smiles and talks with us, but Messrs. Seymour and Trevor come up the back stairs.* Mons. Dolm tells us my Lord Nottingham is a little lawyer, and no man of business; yet the Court have taken all possible pains to prevent the petition against him, and my good Lord Mayor to set it aside broke up the court so abruptly as my Lord Sidney the Irish Parliament. I will engage no farther in politics, but being sick, am going, by way of physic, to eat a good supper, and drink your health in a glass or two of my reviving wine. Yours,

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* King William had sometimes an inclination to form a Tory administration, on account of their accommodating temper, but was deterred when told that *he* was not the King of the Tories.

MONMOUTH."

"MR. LOCKE, March 25, 1693.

"SHALL we pretend more that nothing shall surprise us? and have you heard of our late Whiggish promotion without admiration? I cannot but confess, I rather wish we had our Whiggish laws: but however, I think there must be some consequence, not so much of our joy, as of the ill humour of the Tories, which is so apparent, and so great, that I am resolved to enjoy the satisfaction it gives me, and not lose the few moments of mirth offered us by a too nice examination. The new Secretary* treads the stage with quite another air, than our friend; the poor Lord-Keeper† looks as if he wanted the comfort of his friends; but the other‡ thinks he may depend on his own parts and the ability of Mr. Bridgman. Whether to congratulate with your friends, or to see the silly looks of the enemy, I suppose you will give us one week

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[*] The Earl of Shrewsbury.

[†] Sir John Trevor, afterwards expelled the House of Commons for corruption.

[‡] Sir John Somers.

in town. There is a little philosophical apartment quite finished in the garden that expects you, and if you will let me know when you will come, it will not be the least inconvenience to me to send my coach twenty miles out of town to meet you, and may make your journey more easy, and if you would make me so, pray, Mr. Locke, be less ceremonious to your affectionate servant,

MONMOUTH."

"MR. LOCKE, December 12, 1695.

"I CANNOT but write to you to give some ease to my ill-humour, for, though accustomed to see such follies committed, I cannot be insensible when I see them repeated, especially when the public and a friend is concerned. I was some days ago extremely pleased when the King was brought to so reasonable a resolution as to determine upon a council of trade, where some great men were to assist, but where others, with salaries of a thousand pounds a year, were to be fixed as the constant labourers. Mr. Locke being to be of the number, made me have the better opinion of the thing, and comforted me for our last disappointment upon your subject: but, according to our accustomed wisdom and prudence, when all things had been a good while adjusted, the patent ready for the seal, and some very able and honest men provided for your companions, it was impossible to get the King to sign it; but delaying it from day to day, the Parliament this day fell upon it, and are going to form such a commission, to be nominated by themselves. Our great managers surprised, were forced to run up to some in our House, others to go to Kensington, so that at last the Secretary informs the House at the latter end of the debate, (and much consultation,) that the King had just formed such a commission, with all that could be said to prevent their farther proceeding; but they all looked upon it as a trick, and all they could do was to put it to a vote for an adjournment, which, in a full House, after great exertions, they carried but by eleven: this is the effect of our gravity and prudence; what the event will be I know not, but for the little I am able, I shall endeavour. Mr. Locke may be the choice of the House, as well as the King's: if it take that course, if the ill-weather prevent you not, it were not improper you were in town; but above all things take care of yourself, without which your friends will lose the pleasure they may have in serving you. I hope we may make the House desist, and that your affair is fixed; but these unnecessary labours might be spared to those who have enough to do.

" From your affectionate servant,
MONMOUTH."

" MR. LOCKE, August, 1697.

" YOU know the impatience country gentlemen have for news; we are here as fond of a Gazette as the sparks are of their mistresses with you. We lay wagers on Ponty and Revel and Conti and Saxe, to pass away the time, instead of playing at pickett. Pray give us a letter now and then to decide who has won: this request is made you, not only by myself, but by some other of your humble friends.

PETERBOROW."

" Direct your's for me, to be left at the post-house, Chippenham, Wiltshire."

" MR. LOCKE, September 4th, 1697.

WE all return you thanks for your charitable correspondence, but the lady is a little out of humour since your last, having long ago settled the peace with the restitution of Strasburgh, and Luxemburgh, and Loraine, and sunk and destroyed all, or most of Ponty's squadron, not considering the generous Knight-errantry of our admirals, who scorn to beat their enemies with odds nine to five, being shameful advantage. The next letter you are pleased to write this way, address it to the lady who stays here some time longer. I hope in four or five days after you have received this, to see you in London; for I take it for granted, the Essex lady is not to attract, while the sun has so much influence.

"Your most affectionate servant,
PETERBOROW."

"SIR, Dec. 26th, 1702.

"THE lady that made you a visit with me would not let me write, till I could tell you all is gone afore, and that the first easterly wind we follow. I wish we were as sure of success as we are of your good wishes; and I assure you, Sir, I have some pretence to that from the very sincere respect and inclination I have ever had for you. Our Vigo success has a little abated our vigour, a fault too often committed by the English, and we seem not so willing as the Dutch to raise new recruits for the next campaign. I confess (after the schoolboy fashion) I am for giving the enemy the rising blow when they are down. And I hope to convince you in the West Indies, that if Providence give us successes, we will not sleep upon them. Sir, if I make a prosperous voyage and live to come back again, I shall not have a greater pleasure than to meet you where we parted last.

Your most affectionate friend and servant,
PETERBOROW.

"The gentleman you recommended from my Lady Coverly, went this night aboard."

"27th Jan. 1703.

"HAD I not with Mr. Locke left off wondering at any thing long ago, I might with surprise write this letter, and you receive it with amazement, when I let you know our American expedition is fallen, as a mushroom rises in the night. I had my orders to be aboard the 16th; all my equipage and servants gone; and the 14th I was sent for to the place of Wisdom to be asked this question, whether I could not effect with three thousand men, what I was to have attempted with above double the number? I modestly confessed myself no worker of miracles; and being told that the States had desired the Dutch squadron and land-forces might be employed upon other services, since the season was so far spent, and the wind contrary, I likewise desired they would excuse my going if the season were passed, when I was sure the force would not answer what the world expected from her Majesty's arms and preparations so long talked of; besides, these 3000 men I was to depend upon, were but 2800 when they left Cales, and before my arrival must have been employed for four months against the French in their strongest islands, and probably reduced to half the number, at least, by disease and the accidents of war. I am sure this does not surprise you, that I refused to go to the other world loaded with empty titles, and deprived of force. These mysteries of state I will not pretend to unfold at present, but before I return to my home, I will have another meeting in Essex.

"Your most faithful friend,
PETERBOROW."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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